1964-1965 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists
**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1964

1964-01Jan	(Fair Play for Cuba) Olson hails breach in blockade
1964-01Jan	(Fair Play) Responds to attack from B.C. NDP brass
1964-01Jan	Peru peasants demand release of Hugo Blanco
1964-01Jan	B.C. NDP left weighs post-convention scene
1964-01Jan	Across Country with the NDP (PSQ, Separate schools)
1964-01Jan	NDP discussion on where the Party is going (Orchard)
1964-01Jan	PSQ on Nationalism and Separatism (Dubuc's text)
1964-01Jan	Veteran of US Negro revolt speaks at Vancouver Forum
1964-01Jan	Trade Union Notes: Teamsters 938 election red-baiting
*1964-Jan	Edit: Mobilize Sask. behind public ownership of CPR
1964-02Feb24	(2 clippings) “NDP Council Confirms Expulsion...”
1964-02Feb	US Negroes rally behind boycotts, Rent strikes (J. M.)
1964-02Feb	The PSQ answers its NDP censors (on national question)
1964-02Feb	PSQ (J-M Bédard) answers its NDP censors
*1964-Feb	Raw deal for (expelled NDY) socialist youth
*1964-Feb	NDP ranks hit Sask. NDP plans for separate schools
1964-02Feb	**Fidel Castro speech—Fifth Anniversary**
1964-03Mar7	LSA Flyer: Woman’s Revolution (IWD): Theatrical event
1964-03Mar	**S**tudents to form peace corps heading for Cuba
*1964-Mar	Fair Play Chairman: Seeing Cuba for the third time (on file)

*1964-Mar	Unions strengthened in PSQ internal dispute (BR) (on file)
1964-03Mar	Report to (Vanguard) stockholders
*1964-Mar	Editorial: More loyal than an opposition (NDP)
1964-04Apr	Sask. CCF loses with no program campaign
1964-04Apr	Black nationalism & the U.S. Negro revolt (J.M.)
*1964-Apr	Students & labor hit Quebec government (RB) (on file)
*1964-Apr	Edit-No troops for Vietnam! Withdraw from Cyprus!
1964-05May8	To Bob & Edith, Montreal: touching base
1964-05May	NDP must be a labor party (Steel union leader)
1964-05May	BC NDP Socialist Caucus protests youth expulsions
*1964-May	Edit – Behind the unfurling of Canada's new flag
*1964-May	Edit – Danger over Cuba! (US provocations)
*1964-May	BC-NDP squabble in top leadership (on file)
1964-06June20	Letter to Dick (F.) Montreal: designing pamphlet covers
1964-06Jun	FPCC pamphlet cover: The *Real* Cuba by 3 Canadians
1964-06Jun	A true peace corps – Canadian student to Cuba tour
*1964-Jun	Hear NDP BC leader Steeves on Cuba on TV & radio (file)
*1964-Jun	Edit – No Canadian support for US SE Asia policy!
*1964-Jun	Quebec's separatist RIN advancing, critique NDP (RB- file)
1964-06Jun	Montreal police interfering with circulation of ideas
1964-06Jun	(Vanguard tour) Thru the Niagara peninsula
*1964-Jun	Negro struggle and US Pres. Johnson's Civil Rights Bill (file)
1964-07July15	Letter to Dick (F) Montreal: impromptu black united front

1964-07July16	Letter to Brian (S.?) Montreal: Maoist Jack Scott in Toronto
1964-07July26-1	Letter to Organizer Bob H.: Jack Scott meeting in Toronto
1964-07July26-2	FPCC pamphlet cover: Fidel Castro: ‘’Declaration of Santiago’’
1964-07July	Automation big issue at Ontario NDP rally
1964-07July	No Canadian support for US in Vietnam!
*1964-July	Labour must take over NDP
1964-07July	Vancouver LSA holds house warming (new HQ)
1964-07July	Toronto pickets U.S. Racist (at Gardens & airport)
1964-08Aug23	Report of the all-women Ontario Tour meeting
1964-08Aug	45 Cdn. Students enthusiastic about 8-week Cuba visit
*1964-Aug	US blow at N. Vietnam rouses world protests
*1964-Aug	Truth behind US charge of Vietnam aggression
1964-08Aug	Rank & file at Ont. NDP convention oppose NATO
1964-08Aug	League for Socialist Action protests ban by B.C. NDP
1964-08Aug	Open Letter to B.C. NDP members (from LSA leaders)
1964-08Aug	Toronto unionists face challenge of (civic) labor slate
1964-08Aug	(*Vanguard*) Trailblazers digress into past (Negro colonies)
1964-09Sept8a	Letter to Dick: Toronto Labor Day parade leaflet blitz
1964-09Sept14	‘’The Struggle for a Proletarian Party in Canada, 1921-45’’ (A speech by R.D. from notes by John Riddell)
1964-09Sept99a	(undated) Document: ’Tasks & Perspectives in VOW’’ (*p2 missing)*
1964-09Sept99c	*(concluding notes)* LSA intervention
1964-10Oct28	Letter to Dick (F.) Montreal: on his (Quebec) document
1964-10Oct	Students heighten interest in Cuba

1964-10Oct	NDP victory in Riverdale heralds new possibilities
1964-Oct	Parti Pris analyzes Quebec strikes-Socialist solution (on file)
1964-10Mid-Oct	Toronto LSA runs for Mayor, Controller
1964-10Oct	LSA names Reg Bullock for Mayor of North Van.
*1964-Oct	Royal visit to Quebec fiasco, police brutality on protests(file)
*1964-Oct	Stop Canada's entanglement in Malaysia (& Vietnam)
*1964-Oct	British (Labor Party) in power
1964-10Oct	Forum hears topics: SNCC, Typos, Trotsky book
1964-11Nov9a	Letter to Montreal Comrades: large Toronto meetings for
1964-11Nov	Bullock labor candidate for Mayor in North Vancouver
*1964-Nov	Tor. Labor in turmoil over (civic) electoral policy
*1964-Nov	Dowson only choice for Mayor; Mitchell Controller
*1964-Nov	NDP adds Waterloo South to Riverdale election win
1964-11Nov	Parti Pris editor extols Que. cause before Toronto audience
*1964-Nov	Quebec Parti Pris separatist, socialist (RB) (on file)
1964-11Nov	Three Cuban visitors inspire largest FPCC banquet yet
1964-12Dec11a	FPCC pamphlet ‘‘Che’ Guevara at the UN
1964-12Dec11b	(back cover) Speeches by Fidel Castro in print (FPCC)
1964-12Dec	NPA monopoly of Van. Council cracked by NDP
*1964-Dec	Withdraw troops in Vietnam demands Toronto picket
*1964-Dec	Toronto election sees LSA score progress
*1964-Dec	Scarboro 'Experiment' not valid
1964-12Dec	YS at U of T call for withdrawal troops in Congo (on file)

1964-12Dec	Hail *La Lutte Ouvrière*! New Que. Socialist press
1964-11Nov	Withdraw troops in Vietnam demands Toronto picketline
*1964-Dec	New socialist journals reflect Quebec ferment (on file)
1964-97	(undated) NDP Socialist Caucus fact sheet: Women's Rights
1964-98	Leaflet: Which way for the Democratic Left? (The NDP)
1964-99a.	(Texte - Introduction (1Vè Int. publié par La Lutte Ouvrière)
1964-99b	(Couverture) ‘’Dialectique actuelle de la révolution mondiale’’
*1964-99	Automation; Socialist Caucus; Quebec economics (on file)

1965

*1965-00-1	A socialist program for the NDP
*1965-00-3	“The Myth of Swedish Socialism”Alberta Socialists, (files)
1965-01Jan	Guarding the US-Canada border (from stateless US citizen)
1965-01Jan	Quebec labor attracts new forces
1965-01Jan	20 Years of the CIO (Book review & Tribute to Art Preis)
1965-02Feb	Demonstrations in Canada re US in Vietnam
1965-02Feb	Malcolm X murder setback for Negro struggle
*1965-Feb	Edit – Self-determination for people of Vietnam
*1965-Feb	Call it what it must become (NDP is the labor party)
*1965-Feb	BC debates public ownership of logging, by E. Tate (on file)
1965-03Mar	Second student work tour to Cuba seeks volunteers
1965-03Mar	Across Country with the NDP-Vietnam & Policy debates
1965-03Mar	Toronto and UBC students hear challenge of Marxism

*1965-Mar	Speak out against US horror weapons in Vietnam
*1965-Mar	Quebec Left seeks a Mass Labor Party (R.B.-D.F.) (on file)
1965-04Apr12	‘’Document on Portuguese Can. Democratic Assn.
1965-04Apr	B.C. NDP resolutions (at) controversial convention
1965-04Apr	Across Country with the NDP: Alberta & Vietnam
1965-04Apr	May Day – day of international workers' mobilizations
*1965-Apr	World-wide protests against US in Vietnam
1965-04Apr	Castro appeals for unity--US war inVietnam
1965-04Apr	Fourth International-Aid Vietnam!
*1965-06June	Left Caucus Convention Call
1965-06Jun	For public ownership of forest industry – B.C. NDP
*1965-Jun	NDP leader Douglas denounces support of aggression
*1965-Jun	Liberation front for self-determination” - Douglas
1965-06Jun	Committee set up by aid victims of South Africa apartheid
1965-06Jun	B.C. NDP internal democracy debate; Oppose expulsions
*1965-Jun	Statement on cancellation of Student tour in Cuba
1965-07July	Prairie teach-in protests servility of Ottawa to US
*1965-July	Stop Vietnam war shout NDP delegates
1965-07July	Federal NDP convention sees birth of new left
1965-07July	NDYouth lay basis for effective national movement
1965-07July	Outstanding Canadians support victims of apartheid
1965-08Aug9	Letter *Vanguard* tour: its silence, receipt for subs received
1965-08Aug13a	Press release: Viet Cong Film in Winnipeg: *Vanguard* tour

1965-08Aug13b	*Vanguard* tour film flyer: (rejected, bad photo quality)
1965-08Aug13c	Flyer ‘’War against Vietnam freedom struggle,’’ Winnipeg
1965-08Aug20	Letter to Comrades on tour: locate NFL film in Winnipeg?
1965-08AAug	Campaigning with sub-blanks & movie (*Vanguard*)
1965-08AAug	Toronto LSA conducts educational program
*1965-Aug15	Urges labor to “raise hell over Vietnam”
*1965-Aug15	The root causes of the war in Vietnam
*1965-Aug15	ICAP reply to Fair Play on cancellation of tour
*1965-Aug15	A new threat to unity of ONDP? (attack Trotskyism)
*1965-Aug15	Parti Pris turns to Quebec workers—Pt. 1 (R.B.-D.F.) (on file)
1965-09Sept24	Letter to Art (re the tour in BC; Vancouver and return trip
1965-09Sept28	Letter to Bill (forced to drop off tour); his return trip?
1965-09Sept	Cartoon- NDP against boss parties
1965-09Sept	Cross Canada balance sheet as Trailblazers reach B.C.
*1965-Sept15	All out for NDP victory on Nov. 8
*1965-Sept15	Call for action against war in Vietnam Oct. 15-16
*1965-Sept15	Edit – Ottawa's guilt in Vietnam
*1965-Sept15-	Rally lays basis for united front on Vietnam war
1965-10Oct6a	Letter to Trailblazers: literature being sent to Edmonton
1965-10Oct6b	Short notes to trailblazers en route (Ontario & Sask.)
1965-10Oct6c	Short notes to Roving tour and Hans (Ontario)
1965-10Oct6d	Note to Lyle on tour: the Prairies and B.C.
*1965-Oct	Vote NDP – The election issues –

1965-10Oct	NDP TO POWER –The election issues
1965-10Oct	End Cdn complicity in Vietnam
1965-10Oct	Break the totalitarian grip of 985 who own Canada
*1965-Oct	Why you should vote, elect the NDP
1965-10Oct	Photo: 6,000 at U. Of Toronto Vietnam teach-in
1965-10Oct	Quebec NDP campaign – predict big gains
1965-10Oct	Nationalize Bell Tel says BC leader Strachan
1965-12Dec	Vote for NDP in Quebec a breakthrough
*1965-Dec	Teamsters in leadership fight to win 40-hr. Week
*1965-Dec	The NDP in this election and what's to be done
1965-12Dec	Wind up of cross-Canada (Vanguard) campaign
1965-12Dec	Sask. NDYouth president: 'It's time we took stock'
1965-12Dec	Ovation for ambassador at Cuba Fair Play supper
1965-12Dec	Review- Porter “The Vertical Mosaic” -Canadian economy
1965-12Dec	Trusteeship snags Teamster fight for new leadership
*1965-Dec	Labor party, unity with CSN debated by QFL (FTQ) (file)
*1965-Dec	Fourth International – Increase opposition to war (file)
*1965-Dec	How to end the Vietnam war, by Art Young

Olson Hails Breach In Cuba Blockade

A press interview was held in one of Toronto's major hotels to welcome Vernel and Anne Olson upon their return from a five week stay in Cuba. Mr. Olson, national chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was questioned over a wide range of matters for some two hours by representatives of the city's leading dailies.

He expressed elation that the British Leyland Motor Corporation had agreed to sell Cuba 400 buses, despite U.S. government protests. He said that he hoped this would encourage the Canadian government to open up our trade with Cuba, which has been steadily declining, by granting Cuba long term credits.

He was probed about food rationing, the shortage of labor to cut sugar cane, the destruction wrought by Hurricane Flora, etc. He dismissed the charge that the revolutionary uprisings in Venezuela are carried by arms supplied from Cuba by asking how the equipment in the large caches that are alleged to be found could possibly get through the massive blocade that the U.S. maintains night and day right off the shoreline of Cuba.

But what struck him on this fifth anniversary of the revolution, said Mr. Olson, was that many of the immediate problems, housing, schools, medicare, are being solved or are well on the way to solution. The Cubans are now discussing what the future socialist society that they are building will be like — for instance the question of culture, its aim, the role of the state in such matters, etc. He said that while he was there a wide and freewheeling discussion was taking place on this question. Former PSP head Blas Roca had launched a sharp attack through the pages of Hoy against the importation of certain European films such as Diamonds in the Dust, (Poland) and La Dolce Vita, etc. by a government department. Alfredo Guevara, head of the department, made a vigorous reply in defence of cultural freedom,

Visiting Cuba at the same time as the Olsons were several other Canadians from Vancouver and Toronto, and Michel Chartrand, leader of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec. The Toronto chapter of FPCC will be holding a public meeting to be addressed by Vernel Olson on January 30 at the Carpenter's Hall.

Our Vancouver correspondent reports that the banquet organized by the Vancouver FPCC chapter to raise funds for Hurricane Relief was a great success. Well over 125 persons turned out to the Edmonds CCF Hall, and after expenses, nearly $300 was turned over to the Cuban Embassy in Ottawa. NDP MLA for Nanaimo, David Stupich, was unable to make the banquet, originally scheduled earlier, and Cedric Cox filled in as speaker. He announced that Carl Erickson of the Carpenters Union would be the Vancouver delegate to the January celebrations in Cuba. Dorothy Steeves who had been nominated, was prevented from accepting due to a sudden illness.

Get Out of Panama!

This demand that is echoing through the tiny Central American republic and the U.S. occupied canal zone found an echo in Montreal in front of the U.S. Consulate, Saturday afternoon, January 18 saw 25 pickets appear there to express their solidarity with the people of Panama. The demonstrators were youthful and their signs were in French.

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WORKERS Vanguard

#93-Jan. 1964

Cuba Committee Responds to Attack from BC NDP Brass

A major topic of discussion at the recent B.C. NDP Socialist Caucus was the latest thrust by the party leadership against the left in the form of a witch-hunt against the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Information about the impending witch-hunt came when it was reported that the latest provincial executive minutes contain a resolution which calls for an investigation of the FPCC, as "it has been suggested, and the general public impression is, that this is a Trotskyite or Communist sponsored or infiltrated organization, and one with a special relationship to the government of a foreign country, namely Cuba . . ."

The same resolution states that if this is "true even in part, participation or association with the organization would be inconsistent with membership in the NDP . . ."

Hugh Clifford, North Vancouver constituency, who acted as chairman of the caucus and who is a vice-president of the FPCC, scored the attack for what it is — a method of trying to eliminate the caucus.

"It seems fantastic, so soon after the provincial convention where a resolution was passed almost unanimously, a resolution that puts the party behind the Cuban people and stated its opposition to the blockade imposed by the U.S. 'Shocking' is the only word that can be used," said Clifford. "It's a disgrace that every member of the party has imposed on him."

The party is one of broad views, said Margaret Erickson, Vancouver Center. "At one time we were fearful that we could not even call ourselves socialist. That's why we started the caucus. The present executive is nothing but a machine; they are not democrats at all." This resolution gives the authority to this machine, she went on, to place under suspicion members who would support a group which they deem worthy.

Other members of the caucus scored the resolution as being an attack on the basic civil rights of NDP members.

Cedric Cox, Burnaby, who is chairman of the FPCC, said that this was just an extension of an attempt to force him out of FPCC when he was sitting as an NDP Member in the Legislature. He said that at that time they tried to force him to quit. "They can expell me if they wish," he said, "but I won't quit the committee."

Ruth Bullock, North Vancouver, reported that her constituency executive had gone on record against the resolution, is writing a strong letter of protest to the provincial executive, and is going to ask for endorsation of its action at the next membership meeting.

Tom McNaul, Vancouver Center, read out a lengthy resolution which he said he had been asked to write by the Stanley Park NDP Club. The statement called the provincial executive resolution "scurrilous," and demanded "a withdrawal."

The Vancouver officers of Fair Play, in response to the BC NDP leadership's attack, have launched a membership drive directed particularly to NDP members. They have issued a leaflet reproducing the resolution from the executive minutes along with a protest which asks: "Is it just coincidence that they (the NDP leadership — four years after the formation of the committee) are now echoing the same kind of attack on the committee that was made during the height of the hysteria caused by the Kennedy assassination?"

The leaflet also outlines the past work of the committee. It urges all interested to write the secretary — Phil Courneyeur, 7187—10th Ave., Burnaby 3, B.C., for a copy of the latest national FPCC bulletin containing an extensive report on Cedric Cox's Canadian-U.S. tour, the committee's hurricane relief fund drive, etc.

WORKERS Vanguard

#93 - Jan 1964

Peru Peasants Demand Release of Hugo Blanco

Cuzco, the 11,440 foot high ancient capital of the Incas, third largest city in Peru, was shaken by a militant general strike on December 20. The central demand, according to **Agence France Presse** reports from Lima, was the immediate release of Hugo Blanco and some 60 other peasant leaders held prisoner by the government.

Hugo Blanco is a Trotskyist leader whose role in organizing the peasantry into unions made him a national figure. Seized by government troops last summer, his renown has increased as he calmly awaits trial at Arequipa on a charge that may mean his death.

According to the AFP dispatch the 24 hour general strike paralyzed Cuzco and the surrounding area putting it completely in the hands of the strikers. Officers and businesses locked their doors while police retreated to their barracks and the central prison in order "to avoid any bloodshed." Nevertheless, the report reads, thousands of demonstrators battled police in the Urumba area leaving behind them a number of wounded.

Last summer there were demonstrations urging the release of Blanco in such widely separated points as Ottawa, New York, London, Tokyo and Rome. Cuba's Che Guevara, while visiting Algeria, joined in the campaign by praising Hugo Blanco's courage as a revolutionist. Recently a delegation of the Peruvian Frente de Izquierda Revolucianario (FIR) went to Montivideo where it spoke at a meeting in the headquarters of the Movimiento Revolucionario Oriental, a pro-Castro grouping with two members in parliament. The meeting agreed that the campaign to free Blanco and other prisoners would be stepped up in Uruguay. A mass meeting in Santiago de Chile attended by some 500 and aimed at helping the development of a "pro-Chinese" wing in the Communist Party of Chile greeted with applause a message from Humberto Valenzuela, general secretary of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario. Valenzuela asked for support of the revolutionary struggle in Peru and in paritcular for the launching of a campaign in Chile to help win the freedom of Blanco.

That the Cuzco general strike is part of a new rise in the Peruvian peasant movement is affirmed by the first issue of a bulletin published by the Peruvian Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario that recently appeared in Buenos Aires. Early in September, it reports: peasants in Rio Huallaga took over considerable land; 2,000 communalists in Yanacocha occupied 2¼ thousand acres; at Huaylacucho four large haciendas were taken over; at Yacta, communalists shouting "Land or Death" occupied a large hacienda, and in the north peasants seized estates in the Canchaqui district and at Jauga, Puno.

Peasants in the Cuzco region held a big meeting that same

(see page 4 — PERUVIAN)

Peruvian Peasant Revolt

Continued From Page One

month with many displaying placards bearing photographs of Hugo Blanco. The student federation organized a march on the Palace demanding release of the prisoners.

Late in October peasants around Ongoya, a town of 12,000, who had taken over ancestral lands occupied by landlords, were attacked by armed bands under police protection. It is reported that thirty men, women and children were killed. During a debate in parliament over the attack, supporters of the peasants and the imprisoned leaders who are accused by the Lima press of being Trotskyists, demonstrated in the galleries.

The Lima press reports that three of these prisoners went on an indefinite hunger strike and that they have been joined in their demonstration by Hugo Blanco and Benito Hualpa Quispe, president of the Federation de Campesinos de Cuzco who has been incarcerated with Blanco.

Blanco has been successful in getting at least two messages from prison to the Peruvian people. One appearing in the November 11 issue of **Revolucion Peruana**, organ of the Revolutionary Left Front, called upon them to carry the struggle out to the end. "The reformist measures of the Belaunde government," he warned, "including the Project for Agrarian Reform, are nothing but maneuvers to hold back the Revolution which has already been placed underway by the Peruvian people. The least blind sector of the exploiting classes understands that the oligarchy must retreat in order not to be crushed, imperialism likewise understand this."

"If at this crucial moment," Blanco declares, "the people suspend their struggle, the government of Belaunde will change into one of the most reactionary that Peru has had; if it does not, then it will be swept aside by the oligarchy.

"The Peruvian people are living at a decisive moment and their destiny depends in great measure on the attitude which their revolutionary vanguard adopts. We must assume with serenity and courage the historic task which is ours . . . Undoubtedly there will be prisoners and deaths, but genuine revolution which our country so much needs will be made." This statement ends with the ringing challenge popularized by the Cubans — "Land or Death! We Will Win."

Blanco's other message is a call for a mass revolutionary socialist party. He explains how "the popular masses, impelled by need, begin to confront their enemies more or less intuitively, but still imprisoned by many concepts imposed by the exploiters." He explains the indispensability of the revolutionary organization — "based on a study of the national and internaitonal reality, orientaing the peasant movement, linking it to the struggle of the proletariat and the rest of the people for a workers and peasants power."

He calls upon the left to rid itself of all sectarianism in order to achieve the unification of its forces through revolutionary action. "A beginning has been made in this effort," he states; "by the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario," of which he is president.

PROTEST EXILE OF CHILIAN LEADER

Luis Vitale, a well known Trotskyist leader in Chile has been sentenced to 541 days of exile to a small southern town. This repressive action against Vitale climaxes a lengthy persecution. In October, at the time of the crisis over Cuba precipitated by the U.S. blockade, he had to go into hiding. The pretext for condemning one of the main leaders of the Partido Obrero Revolucionaraio was a leaflet favoring Cuba and advocating revolutionary socialist positions.

There have been many expressions of solidarity with Vitale from various political and trade union currents. A bill proposing a general amnesty has been submitted to the Senate. Senator Salvado Allende, a candidate for the presidency in 1964, has indicated that should he win he will release Vitale.

WORKERS Vanguard #93-Jan. 1964

BC NDP LEFT WEIGHS POST-CONVENTION SCENE

Over 50 supporters of the B.C. New Democratic Party Socialist Caucus turned out on January 12th at a meeting in Hillcrest Hall to lay plans for the coming year and assess the caucus' activity at the recent provincial convention. It was generally agreed that the main achievement of the caucus was the convention's adoption of a good resolution on Cuba and its adoption of a preamble which projected as the aim of the party the establishment of socialism.

John Macey stated that "We demonstrated to the convention that we are the only alternative. If in time there is dissatisfaction with the present leadership—and we know there was a floating vote at the convention — we will be seen as the only alternative."

"We must take stock now for our role in the future," said Jack Scott. He said it was necessary to change from being essentially a metropolitan Vancouver caucus and to extend out into the rest of the province. In essence, he said, "the provincial convention endorsed our program but elected a leadership which is completely opposed to it. We must therefore resolve to change that leadership and change it for one that will carry out the program."

In a discussion which at times was drawn out and wandering, a proposal was raised for consideration by the caucus that a regular bulletin be put out in its name for circulation to all party members. This was raised when it was reported to the caucus that a delegation had appeared before the last provincial executive meeting protesting the label "extremists" which was used in a report of the convention appearing in the party organ to describe the leaders of the socialist caucus. The delegation had asked for a retraction, but had been refused.

It was suggested that a demand should be made of the provincial leadership for a page in the party organ, **The Democrat**, so that the caucus could make its views known to the membership. It was stated that this would be only fair since the caucus had the support of one third of the delegates at the convention. Failing this, the caucus would then publish a bulletin.

The meeting adjourned with the decision to hold another in two weeks time to make a definite decision. It was agreed that at that time there would be discussion of the proposal to elect a broad coordinating committee to plan a program of action for the caucus.

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Across Country With the NDP

PSQ and NDP

New Democratic Party forces in Montreal are now busy canvassing the working-class ridings of Laurier and St. Denis for the federal by-elections to be held February 10th. Indicative of the importance in which these elections are regarded by the NDP leadership here is the fact that Gerard Picard, federal leader T. C. Douglas' chief Quebec lieutenant, is the candidate in Laurier. Mme Rejeanne Dinel is the party standard-bearer in St. Denis.

Questioned whether members of the newly-formed Parti Socialiste du Quebec (which has left the federal level of political action open to the NDP) would be working in cooperation with them, Picard replied that he does not think there will be any difficulty. "We can hit it off on certain questions". Already, it has been observed that several PSQers are working in the by-elections.

Coalition with Libs

The cross-Canada daily press, with the **Toronto Star** taking the lead, has been whooping it up with "inside information" and speculation by the bucketful on a merger between the NDP and the Liberal Party.

The idea of "responsible elements" in the NDP joining forces and strengthening the small-l Liberals who are alleged to be a vital force in the capitalist Liberal Party, has long been the line of the **Star** and more astute Liberals across the country. The **Star** has long and assiduously carried on a campaign as a party insider, of course with the party's best interests at heart, against the socialists and in support of the extreme right elements in the NDP.

The only facts in the case, after you cut away all the demagogy, appear to be that the United Steelworkers public relations director, Murray Cotterill, NDP national treasurer Eamon Parks, and the head of Canada's own Fabian Society, Desmond Sparham, met at the Toronto apartment of the former Ontario Liberal leader John Wintermeyer.

What transpired there — whether Parks - Cotterill - Sparham thought they could carry out some slick maneuver that would expose the Liberals to the electorate and even chip away some of its hangers-on, we do not know.

The Liberals got a lot of mileage out of it. No doubt they further alienated militants from the NDP brass — a good thing — but possibly from the party itself — a bad thing.

The NDP top leadership has clearly renounced any idea of a merger and now there is talk about taking some kind of disciplinary action against the culprits.

Socialists have been framed and kicked out of the party forthright —with types like Sparham and company leading the expulsion chorus. But it is extremely doubtful that anything at all will be done to the "culprits" and no purpose would be served at any rate. It is the liberal-reformist character of the party's program that results in such incidents and provides the lever for the Liberal Party to work. This the NDP brass not only won't touch but even consciously fosters.

Separate Schools

Last year Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald firmly opposed a campaign undertaken by the Catholic hierarchy to cut into the general funds raised by taxes to finance separate Catholic high schools. The Manitoba NDP is coming up against the same pressure and from a lengthy and informative article by Betty Jenkins in the December 11 Prairie New Democrat **Commonwealth** we gather it is going to oppose the reactionary and divisive efforts of the hierarchy.

That is why it is all the more shocking to see from an announcement made to a press conference held by the Saskatchewan Minister of Education that the NDP government there is preparing to present legislation that completely capitulates to this pressure.

If the proposed legislation is passed, and all that can stop it is opposition from the NDP ranks, for the Liberals and Tories will go along with it, ratepayers in a separate school district can take a vote amongst themselves. If the vote carries they can refuse to accept levies passed by the municipal council to support secondary schools. They would be responsible for the education of high school students who are children of separate school supporters in the secondary school district.

Other denominations which now operate a few schools in the province will in all probability apply for a share of the tax money so that aside from all its other effects it will either bring about a considerable boost in taxation or a considerable deterioration in education all around, or both. The chairman of the Regina Public Collegiate Board estimates that the establishment of the dual system in that city would require ½ million dollars more a year in taxation to keep the public high schools operating.

Does the Saskatchewan NDP leadership think that this will attract new layers of voters to its support this election year? It is certainly a betrayal of principles, not just socialist but liberal democratic principles established as long ago as the 1837 revolution against the Family Compact and the Anglican Church hierarchy. And in this case a betrayal that may bear fruit sooner than they think — in the defeat of the first CCF-NDP government — for no one wants to pay higher taxes.

WORKERS Vanguard

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NDP Press Opens Discussion on Where the Party is Going

By Cliff Orchard

(from Workers' Vanguard, January 1964)

The *New Democrat,* official publication of the New Democratic Party in Ontario and Eastern Canada, has announced in its December issue that its pages are now open to "a discussion of the future development of the party".

This discussion, long overdue, has to some considerable degree been forced on the NDP leadership by the wide publicity given to the views of Val Scott, the federal candidate of the party in York Center (Toronto). Scott's views on the party's difficulties were expressed in the form of a letter addressed to federal leader T. C. Douglas.

Of extremely rightist character, absolutely unacceptable to any serious tendency in the party, these views were unfortunately used by the Ontario leadership to block discussion of more serious viewpoints. Delegates with socialist opinions who attended the November Ontario provincial council meeting were completely snowed under by the heavy fire that the party leadership directed against Scott.

The problem confronting the party as stated by *New Democrat* editor John F. Brewin. "That we cannot, stand pat is clear . . . How can this party expand and reach out to become the major political voice in Ontario and across Canada? ... As a political party we must decide where we want to go and how we are going to get there."

Late in coming though it is, and although it follows the expulsion of almost a score of Ontario socialist youth, which has poisoned the atmosphere in many constituency organizations and inhibited a free exchange of ideas, the discussion that has now been approved can only be welcomed by the party's membership.

Socialists and militants have long anxiously awaited an opportunity to speak out on the fundamental policy problems confronting the party as revealed in the acid test of the recent series of elections, both federal and provincial.

At the same time as he gives the go-ahead to discussion, Brewin attempts to severely limit it by raising the scare of the possibilities that the party's opponents and the big business press will utilize the discussion for their own purposes. Brewin has already refused acceptance of at least one contribution. Scott himself lays this charge in justifying the submission of his views for publication in the Liberal Party mouthpiece, the *Toronto Star.* The need to discuss is real; the demand to voice opinions openly is strong, and it cannot be cut off by Brewin or anyone else!

Actually Scott's views have only one redeeming feature. There are tendencies in the party which, with its failure to win immediate success, now only see it winning power after a long wearing struggle and a slow painful accumulation of support. Scott rejects this, and believes that if certain corrective steps are taken, the party can win power now — in the immediate future. For totally different reasons, the socialists agree with this.

Scott rejects any serious attempts of the party to appeal to farmers and to the people of Quebec. But he gives no explanation of how the NDP can even hope to win power without strong support from working farmers and the French-speaking population — who alone constitute about a third of Canada's population. His direction is clearly revealed by his expressed desire to clear the party of its association with the organized labor movement in order to make it attractive to prejudiced, uncommitted middle-class voters.

One thing for sure! The party must vigorously reject any concept that it should dissociate itself from the organized labor movement. On the contrary, this identity must be more complete! As it is now, the party suffers from an identity with the labor brass, and yet has little identity with the workers organized in the unions. It has not only separated itself by its name, but also in its political agitation, which in the main is directed towards small-l liberals. Only by cementing this identity can union members be won to support what is in reality **their** party. Further, the uncommitted can be won to a party that clearly stands for the working man — but not to a party where this tie is disguised and replaced with non-class appeals which the Liberals and Tories with their greater resources and experience can do far more successfully.

The more serious of the two contributions that have appeared in the *New Democrat,* which has carried nothing from any prominent party leader, is by an M. J. Fenwick of Agincourt. He argues that a major shortcoming of the party is its "zeal to win social security for Canadians". He points out this in no way distinguishes the NDP because "All parties are more or less now committed to welfare measures pioneered and made popular by the CCF". These planks, says Fenwick; fail to inspire the electorate, fail to put forward the prospect of a prosperous future, and result in the image of "an old folk's party". The essence of his view is that the party has no real dynamic, has no effective appeal as an alternative force, projects no concept of real change, and thus leaves the electorate cold. With this we agree.

His solution however would only lead to the party being more adroit in demagogy than the Liberals and Tories. He proposes to outdo the Dlefenbakers and the W.A.C. Bennetts by formulating a program that will respond to what he calls a "give me the tools — I'll do it myself" sentiment of the voter — whatever that's supposed to mean.

The matter of a future perspective can be ignored only at great peril. The Canadian people want to know where the party's program will take it -- in the long run. Is it to be merely a slight modification of the society, the capitalist society we now have, in which the automation and nuclear threat are to remain with us?

Welfare planks, unless they are a part of a broader plan, cannot win the Canadian people to the NDP. All Canadian political parties are welfare state parties. The mounting absenteeism from the polls shows that such demands no longer seriously demark one party from the other, and that the Canadian people have become indifferent to this type of politics.

While the Canadian people may not consciously recognize the need for far reaching changes, in many respects they may be said to be unconsciously aware of it. They do not live in a vacuum. They are aware of many of the results, it they are not aware of the capitalist cause, of the situations they find themselves in.

Not only does NDP welfare statism have no appeal but the leadership's persistent efforts to find an acceptable image, its continual renunciation of public ownership, its vociferous participation in the anti-red drive, have even deprived it of the precious cadre necessary to sustain a movement. We will have more to say on these problems in our next issue.

The discussion has been opened. It is to be hoped that it will extend into every constituency association and every trade union political education committee. Socialists and trade union militants have the responsibility to see that this does take place and that their views are intelligently presented.

Dubuc's Text Outlines View of

PSQ on Nationalism & Separatism

A small portion of the following address by Alfred Dubuc, professor of economics at the University of Montreal, to an information meeting held at Newman School appeared in our October issue. Now, we reproduce with M. Dubuc's permission, an English version of that speech almost in full. Dubuc is a prominent supporter of the recently organized Parti Socialiste du Quebec, reported in detail in our November and December issues.

". . The PSQ rejects the old notion characteristic of the nineteenth century, but which still has some supporters among us, of the political party which represents the complete range of the social and economic groups of society; this notion is deceptive, hypocritical, and it has always been used to disguise the fundamental fact that political parties have never represented anything other than privileged economic and social groups, the class of the bourgeois. . . . It is itme that all social groups which are victims of the exploitation of the present system, entered as a group into political action. . . The Quebec workers are beginning to awake to the consciousness of the political alienation from which they suffer and they wish to escape from it. It is the desire to escape it which is expressed in that dare-devil statement: "Nous n'avons rien a perdre", ("We have nothing to lose," the slogan of the Social Credit party in the federal election of 1962-63). It is a manifestation of fatalism; for the worker can free himself only with difficulty from the sensation of living confined within an implacable destiny; and this is why the recognition of the problems confronting him provokes fear in him.

On the political plane, it is fear of the government; and it is syptomatic that in the workers' language the government is composed of individuals who impose their decision: "they" . . . "they are going" . . . "they have decided" . . . etc., thus do they express their conception of the government . . :

In his daily labor, the worker lives in fear of the employer and all those who, in the hierarchy of the enterprise, represent the unquestioned authority of the representative of capital. And here, as proof of his alienation, the worker possesses only one way of softening that force, which is to learn English.

For the Quebecois lives in fear of the English-speaking person. It is the "Anglais" who took possession of his country and dominates it; it is he who maintains that domination by means of the army, through federal institutions, economic domination, and political corruption.

Yet, sometimes, the worker lives in fear of his union. For the union organization can become in certain cases another of those forces which impose themselves on him and on which he has no hold . . . The worker does not always have the feeling that the structure of the union administration represents the democratic ideal.

There is another fear which the worker entertains: that which he has with respect to the Church and his God. For the Church, as a social institution, is another of those dominating influences, the landlord of rich domains and well-stocked securities, distributor of largesses as much by its control of the private structure of a part of the social security as by its direct influence on hospitals and education. For him, the institution tends to participate in the defence of the established order, that is, in the protection of privileged interests . . .

On the social plane, it is fear of the bourgeois, because the worker knows very well that the bourgeois maneuver within a network of relations which threatens him without letup: these are the bourgeois who dominate the political parties and the government, the great economic institutions including the finance companies which have a stranglehold on him — and that isn't a stylistic exaggeration — the firms where he works and from where he is laid off, the stores which grant or refuse him credit — so vital in times of unemployment and strikes . . .

Such is, in Quebec, the alienation of the working class: alienation at all levels of its social and cultural activity. It is precisely that alienation which serves as the criteria for the definition of the partition of society into social groups, into social classes: some day or other, these will be compelled to confront each other when the movement of disalienation is set in motion.

In order to envisage that reality and to give it the interpretation which I have just suggested there must be a doctrine, an ideology. This is what M. Rene Levesque fears the most and what the NDP, it seems to me, has wanted to reject at any price.

(Levesque, Minister of Natural Resources in the Lesage government, was the individual most responsible for the nationalization of the power companies this year. As leader of the "left-wing" of the Quebec Liberal Party, this popular gentleman provides a very effective foil for Lesage, neutralizing many who might otherwise have long ago abandoned their illusions regarding the ability of the Liberals (and capitalism") to solve the fundamental problems of contemporary Quebec.)

As for the PSQ, it does not fear this ideology, quite the contrary: it wishes to make of it the light which illuminates its action. And that action has for its very first objective the disalienation of the exploited groups of the population.

National alienation is a part of total alienation. Marcel Rioux and Jacques Dofny, (Professors of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Montreal, and members of the PSQ) have demonstrated very clearly that in Quebec, the division into social groups is singularly parallel to the division into ethnic groups . . .

The PSQ considers, moreover, that there are several nationalist movements in Quebec the activity of which can have the effect of holding back the advent of a socialist state. Certain of them are movements of the right, preserving the line of bourgeois nationalism, which has contributed, throughout the entire history of French-Canada, to the political alienation of the working class.

The PSQ refuses to let itself be swept away by the idea that an independent State of Quebec would suffice to resolve all the problems of the working class. For it the first objective will always remain that of the coming of socialist society.

The PSQ is the political party of the workers of Quebec; it is perfectly aware of the force of the nationalist movement, but it does not intend to lead indiscriminately any nationalist policy. Its analysis of the worker's exploitation is global and has as its aim the utilization of all the resources and energies at hand for the disalienation, for the complete liberation of the workers of Quebec. In this way, in the struggle of social classes, the working class of Quebec will achieve its political and economic promotion . .."

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Veteran of U.S. Negro Revolt Speaks to Vancouver Forum

by Ernest Tate

VANCOUVER—In a wide ranging talk on the Negro revolt, Bruce Gordon, 22 year old field secretary for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, described to a recent Sunday night League for Socialist Action forum what it is like to be an active civil rights fighter in the Southern States.

The speaker, dressed in the uniform of the Southern rights fighters—blue denim jacket and jeans — covered everything from the socialist movement — with a few criticisms thrown in — to the role of the U.S. in the world and the fight against war.

Over 60 people were in attendance and $48.00 was raised in the collection and presented to SNCC.

Probably the speaker's most interesting remarks were made on the question of the participation of the organized labor movement in the struggle. One of the tasks SNCC took upon itself, he said, was the unionization of the South.

He talked of how the Atlanta offices of SNCC had written many letters to the AFL-CIO around the necessity of sending staff and legal aid to help them organize. But the SNCC activists had received no assistance until they had a given plant organized.

He said an exception could be made for the Teamsters. "After many letters," he said, "they have sent us assistance."

"SNCC is apolitical but is in empathy with the socialists." He stated that in a way he was angry at the socialists "because they don't show much action." But he referred to the **Militant**, the New York socialist weekly, and said that as far as he was concerned, it had the best coverage of the civil rights fight he had seen. "It's pretty good," he said.

"SNCC has come in for lots of criticism," he reported, but the one thing it couldn't be criticized for is lack of action. "We are doing, while others are talking."

He told his audience that SNCC had no regular card-carrying membership. To become a member of SNCC, he said, you worked, spread their ideas, or gave money.

"We'll take money from anybody, communists, anyone at all, as long as there are no strings attached. Sometimes we come in for a lot of criticism for this. But we ask only one condition — we take the money but we spend the money the way we choose."

"Automation is rampant in the south," he said, "probably there is more automation there than anywhere else. They've brought in automatic cotton pickers and laid off thousands . . . that's why we look to the socialists for answers and theory."

He detailed as an illustration of SNCC activity, a voter registration campaign in Selma, Alabama. He told how this was met with bombings, homes set on fire and beatings of those who conducted the fight.

Police raided the offices of the organization and all the records were taken. On the day registration rolled around, SNCC managed to convince 450 people to try to register to vote, but the white Dixiecrat officials somehow could only register eight. Out of that campaign three people's houses were shot up and 30 people lost their jobs.

He told of how he was run out of town after town in Mississippi at the end of a gun by the cops.

"Mississippi is a police state . . . a one party system . . . but two party in actuality — rabid segregationist and liberal segregationist", he said summing up his feelings on American "democracy".

And during the question period he stated what many alert and questioning young Americans are thinking when he said of North American "defense" — "Lets's remove the need for bombs . . . this requires action — boldness — and clear thinking . . . Defense? Defense my eye — you mean control of Vietnam."

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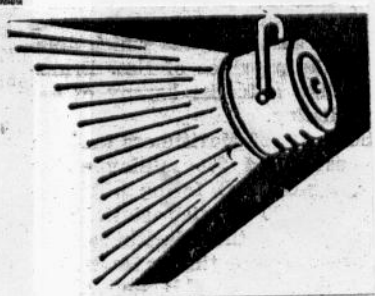
Trade Union Notes



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The elections for officers of the Toronto-based Teamsters Local 938 came to a close with an orgy of red baiting. It was directed primarily against one of the two opposition forces, the Democratic Action slate, headed by Fred Aldred and James Howell. The incumbents, an extremely bureaucratic business-unionist clique that has been collaborating with the employers in the firing and ha"assment of militants, raised the scare that "outsiders" were threatening to take over the local, that one of the opposition slates is Communist and the other Trotskyist.

Not to be outdone the slate charged with being Communist, which is headed by a Terry Doherty and a Ron Woodcock, came out on the final working day and then on the Toronto voting day itself with two leaflets. It jumped with both feet onto the anti-red bandwagon giving it greater momentum.

One of their leaflets charged the Aldred-Howell slate with being "pupils of Ross Dowson" who they linked to the Kennedy assassination by tearing out of context statements by Dowson that expressed doubts as to Lee Oswald being the assassin. The second leaflet employed the term that has been increasingly used against the Left since the Kennedy assassination, one that links them to the Right. It charged the Democratic Action slate with being "extremists." The impact of the red baiting will not be known until the vote in outside Toronto barns has been cast and counted.

* * *

Montreal Pickets Protest Attacks on Peace Walkers

Fifty Montrealers demonstrated in front of the United States Consulate here on January 11th. They were expressing their solidarity with the team of marchers who left Quebec City last May on a 3,500 mile Walk for Peace to Guantanamo, Cuba, and in protest against their mistreatment by police and civic officials in town after town in the U.S.

The picket was composed largely of CUCNDers, members of Le Mouvement pour Disarmament Nucleaire et la Paix, and sympathizers. They distributed copies of a submission to the American government which noted that the marchers, particularly since they had reached Georgia, have been continually harassed, attacked, tortured and arrested.

Dated January 7th, the leaflet states that 14 of the marchers who were jailed in Albany on December 23 for refusing to by-pass the city center, are today to appear in court.

It asks the government to launch an investigation into the plight of the Peace Walkers and points out that similar marches "in many countries, including those behind the 'Iron curtain' have been permitted to leaflet and talk to people at will." It challenges: "Why are they not accorded the rights of freedom of speech and communication as guaranteed by the American constitution. We are here to ask this question of the American government."

Le Devoir contained a lead editorial by Andre Laurendeau in support of the protest.

YOUR HELP NEEDED

The past year was a big one for the VANGUARD. What errors it committed were our own. Its accomplishments were our readers—those who reached down deep in their pockets to help finance us.

This year we want to do more So we have set the sights of our annual sustaining drive to the highest yet — $4,000. We want it on hand for a real celebration of May 1st.

We can only do so with your help. Send in your donation now to the WORKERS VANGUARD, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.

NDP Council Confirms

Map Constituency Drive For August Convention

The Ontario Council of the New Democratic Party yesterday closed ranks against the party's far left wing.

By confirming the expulsion of 10 young radicals—committed to total public ownership of major industry—the council turned decisively toward moderate economic and social planning that leaves room for both public and private enterprise.

The council, composed of the party's executive plus delegates from more than 100 provincial ridings in Ontario, does not have policy-making power. However, its decisions will have a strong influence on the annual convention of the NDP in Toronto, Aug. 10 to 12.

The council met for two days behind closed doors at NDP provincial headquarters, Eglinton Avenue East, to draft a grass-roots program of policy-making in the constituencies before the August convention.

In addition, the council heard the appeals of the 10 alleged Trotskyites-Marxists who reject the orthodox Soviet version of communism but accept Communist principles — who were read out of the NDP last April.

The NDP provincial executive expelled John Wilson, James Onyschuchuk, Allan Engler, Richard Fidler, Toni Foster and five others last year for belonging to a group called the Young Socialist Alliance. The NDP constitution forbids members to belong to any other political party at the same time.

Spokesmen for the group last year refused to confirm or deny that they belonged to the YSA and accused the NDP executive of conducting a witch-hunt.

They lodged an appeal from the executive's decision to the full council.

George Cadbury, president of the Ontario NDP, declined to make any comment on the expulsion of the 10.

Allan Engler, one of the 10, said in a statement that opinion of council delegates had been sharply divided on the expulsion.

In the case of one member, he said, the vote was 29 for expulsion, 20 against.

"Throughout the tense meeting the executive had made it clear that any vote against the expulsions would be considered a demonstration of lack of confidence in the leadership of the party," Mr. Engler said.

"The expelled youth were active in the struggle within the New Democratic Party to adopt a socialist program of opposition to the present Canadian military alliance commitments, public ownership of major industry and support of the colonial revolution throughout the world," the Engler statement declared.

"Undaunted by their exclusion from the ranks of the NDP, they are now publishing a four-page monthly tabloid, Young Socialist Forum, which supports the NDP unconditionally and calls for a socialist program for the party."

Mr. Engler said that no evidence had been presented to show that the YSA existed, that it was a political party or that the 10 belonged to it.

He said one of the expelled 10, Dick Fidler, who now lives in Montreal, is a member in good standing of the Quebec NDP.

Paraphrasing Mr. Fidler's remarks to the Ontario NDP council yesterday, Mr. Engler said the Montreal resident "pointed out that attacks sponsored by the executive on the left wing of the party . . . help to create an atmosphere in which the extreme right wing is able to compromise the party and its leadership, as in the recent incident of the hotel-room negotiations between prominent New Democrats and leaders of the Liberal Party."

NDP officials, questioned after the meeting, were close-mouthed about the possibility of NDP-Liberal talks in the future.

"Matters of this kind would have to be discussed by the convention next August," James Bury, Ontario NDP secretary, said.

Donald C. MacDonald, provincial NDP leader, has publicly repudiated the suggestion of an NDP-Liberal merger. He has indicated that he would favor a new alignment in which the NDP would be the nucleus of a reform party, attracting liberal elements from both old-line parties.

(Mr. MacDonald told the Ontario Council of the United Packinghouse Workers of America yesterday that realignment of Canada's political parties will not be possible until left-wing Liberals and Progressive Conservatives renounce political slush funds.

(He said the NDP is prepared to join forces with anyone wishing to share in building a democratically organized, democratically operated and democratically financed party of the left. But members of the two old parties have been unwilling to free themselves from the dominance of business interests.)

Mr. Bury said the council decided on The Challenge of Science and Social Change in Ontario as the theme for the party's August convention.

A member of working papers are to be prepared on such subjects as the effects of automation, job training and retraining and the use of leisure time, Mr. Bury said.

These documents will establish a framework for resolutions to be worked out in the constituency associations and presented to the August convention.

Party Called Dull

Special to The Globe and Mail

Oshawa—The New Democratic Party last night was described by one of its own members as a dull and complacent organization.

Russell Rak, an Oshawa automobile worker, told a meeting of the New Democratic Association for Ontario riding that few NDP candidates will be elected to Queen's Park unless the situation is changed.

"All the party is now is an election machine. All we are worrying about now is how to run the next election campaign when it comes along," he said.

A motion introduced by Mr. Rak calling for pamphlets to be printed and distributed on important political activities was tabled for consideration by the executive.

Mr. Rak said the NDP was not heard from when the atomic warheads for the Bomarc missiles were shipped into Canada.

Party Called Dull

Special to The Globe and Mail

Expulsion of

10 Young Radicals

Appeal rejected

10 in NDP youth ousted as Trotskyites

Expulsion of 10 young members of a radical splinter group from the New Democratic Party was confirmed over the weekend by the Ontario council of the NDP.

They were expelled last April by the provincial executive, and exercised their right to appeal to the provincial council. The NDP constitution prohibits members belonging to any other political party at the same time.

The 10 were described as Trotskyite-Marxists — followers of basic Communist philosophy who reject the form it has taken in the Soviet Union.

In a statement Allan Engler, one of the 10, said they were "active in the struggle within the NDP to adopt a socialist program of opposition to the present Canadian military alliance commitments, public ownership of major industry, and support of the colonial revolution throughout the world."

The council, composed of the provincial executive and delegates from local riding associations, also laid the groundwork this weekend for the annual NDP convention to be held at Toronto next Aug. 10 to 12.

Social change in Ontario and the challenge of science will be theme of the three-day convention. Working papers will be prepared on effects of automation, job retraining, and other related subjects. These papers will form a background for discussion of resolutions submitted by riding associations.

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U.S. Negroes Rally Behind Boycotts, Rent Strikes

By J. Morgan

As the Johnson administration submits its tokenist civil rights bill to the filibuster of racist southern senators, U.S. Negroes appear oblivious of these gestures and picayune concessions as they step up their fight to abolish their status as second-class citizens.

While the senators jaw, and black and white liberals urge restraint, militant actions in the form of mass boycotts of elementary and high schools and a fast-spreading rent-strike across northern U.S. cities mark a new level in a presidential election year which will give these actions even greater political and social importance.

The Feb. 3 school boycott in New York saw over 460,000 students (44.8%) absent themselves from classes. The Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, which co-ordinated the many Negro and Puerto Rican groups involved, organized "Freedom Schools" in union, church and community halls for boycotting students, and staged picket lines at 300 schools, as well as initiating demonstrations at City Hall and Board of Education Headquarters.

Despite cold weather a crowd of 6,000 came out with placards demanding total integration and protesting run-down buildings, inferior facilities and poor courses and teaching levels in non-white schools. They sang freedom songs and chanted slogans to keep warm. They listened to speeches by Bayard Rustin (organizer of the March on Washington last August), comedian Dick Gregory, James Farmer of CORE and Integration Committee chairman Rev. Galamison. Demands were also made for reduction in the size of classes, abolition of old curricula and for new courses in African and Latin culture. A notable feature was the new degree of co-operation between the Negro and Puerto Rican communities in the demonstration.

The big New York boycott is part of a fast-rising protest against the snails-pace integration of schools. Preceded by a massive boycott of 200,000 students in Chicago last October, it is to be swiftly followed up by others, including a co-ordinated schools boycott on Feb. 25 in Boston, Chicago and Cleveland. Plans are being made for its extension into the south in Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala.

While education officials have been put on the spot, slum landlords in the same cities have had the jolting experience of being hit squarely in the pocketbook and exposed as ruthlessly disregarding tenement safety and health regulations, by a rent strike that has spread rapidly in New York and threatens to gain ground in Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland.

In New York City, where the tenants of no fewer than 440 buildings are now committed to withhold their rent, it is estimated 900,000 people live in 43,000 tenements built before 1902. That is the backdrop of the movement to refuse to pay rent until such "luxuries" as hot water, heating and building repairs have been provided, as well as the extermination of rats. Carried out on fully legal grounds under New York's Receivership Law, which provides payment of rents to a court to be used exclusively for repairs and removing building code violations, this most recent rent-strike began when the tenants of 60 buildings in the Negro ghetto of Harlem withheld their rents and demanded that the city agencies responsible clean up unsanitary conditions and secure such dangerous deficiencies to buildings as fire-escapes.

The Community Council on Housing was formed as the rent strike spread to the Lower East Side on Manhattan, and to the Bronx and sections of Brooklyn. Under the slogan "No Service, No Rent", the campaign quickly grew. At one point 167 buildings with 2,250 tenants were committed to withholding rent totalling $90,000 a month. The Council demanded that the city take over all struck buildings as the only way to provide decent maintenance and repair.

Shortly before he walked out of a landlord—dominated courtroom with the rent strike leaders, SWP presidential candidate Clifton DeBerry made a statement to the press. He urged that a vastly increased and speeded-up program of public low-rental housing was the only way to provide the needed 325,000 units.

The scope of the present movement is indicated by a new degree of solidarity and common action of Negro, Puerto Rican and white tenement dwellers. Its radicalization is expressed in the speech that the noted novelist James Baldwin made to 600 persons who rallied to a January 12 Harlem strike meeting. Baldwin said among other things that "This is a revolution. It is going to be harder and harder because the revolution has got to revise the entire system in order for us, the Negroes, to live, and in order for the country to survive . . ."

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THE PSQ ANSWERS ITS NDP CENSORS

By R. Brock

MONTREAL — Not the least interesting reaction to the formation of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec has been that of the New Democratic Party leadership. In view of the urgent need to build a new party formation in the province of Quebec, an area until recently largely untouched by labor-socialist political action, it might be expected that the NDP's official spokesmen in English Canada would welcome any development promising to change the situation. Unfortunately, such is not the case, it seems — at least as far as federal Vice-President David Lewis is concerned.

Speaking just prior to the PSQ founding convention, to the Montreal Westmount - St. Antoine NDP riding association Lewis attacked the formation of the PSQ as a "tremendous disservice to the people fo Quebec and to the NDP in Canada". Dishonestly tearing out of context a statement by panel participant Jacques-Yvon Morin of the PSQ, Lewis continued: "It pains me to hear the statement that the left in Quebec is concerned with Quebec, and not the rest of Canada". And he went on to accuse the new party of "destroying the opportunity and refusing to make an attempt to put the nationalist sentiments of Quebec in a framework of honest social objectives (sic)".

Echoing Lewis, who had somewhat arbitrarily declared that there can't be "collaboration (between the NDP and PSQ) that would be meaningful outside a federal system", Prof. Charles Taylor, former NDP candidate in Mount Royal riding, stated that the PSQ is incompatible with NDP philosophy because . . . "the socialism of the NDP is predicated on the idea of cooperative federalism".

The PSQ leaders lost no time in replying to these scandalous attacks. In a very sharp statement issued to the press, they pointed out that, "Mr. Lewis is thus rejecting a line of thought adopted by the New Democratic Party and the Quebec Federation of Labour, which for several years have endorsed the principle recognizing in Canada the existence of two nations". And they noted, in part, that "the imperialist remarks of the former MP from York-South are no better than the declarations of the social-democratic leaders of the imperialist nations with respect to the nations living under their colonial yoke. They recall, for example, the behavior of a Guy Mollet towards Algeria. The French social democratic leader made common cause with French capitalism against the oppressed Algerian masses, thus betraying the principles of socialist internationalism. Although the social democratic leaders often speak of the nationalism of the peoples oppressed by other countries, they never raise their voices against the exploitative and colonialist policy of their own bourgeoisie.

"Mr. Lewis speaks to us of the 'nationalist sentiments of Quebec' but he cannot find a single word to denounce the colonialist threats of Anglo-American capitalism and

(See Page 8—PSQ

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PSQ Replies to Critics

(Continued From Page 1)

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"The position taken today by Mr. Lewis on the French-Canadian national question does not differ in the least from the attitude he flaunted at the time when, in all his bureaucratic arrogance, he dominated the CCF, a bitter opponent of the recognition of the French-Canadian nation. He was never willing to acknowledge any political formulation whatsoever which would have expressed the particularism of the French-Canadian nation. He has never admitted the right of the French-Canadian nation to self-determination."

And the communique went on to state in part that "the PSQ rejects colonialism in all its forms and at all levels. It cannot be subject to a federal party. It wants to build a socialist party which is based first on the present historic conditions of its own field of action. Socialism will only take root in Quebec if in Quebec there is first a socialist party emanating from the soil of Quebec and expressing itself in a Quebec language."

This position has been amplified by many PSQ spokesmen. For example, PSQ first vice-president Jean-Marie Bedard of the IWA, addressing the Montreal New Left Association's annual meeting, stated that Lewis' "astounding if not hysterical statements" reached "the heights of incomprehension of the situation in Quebec". Quoting the great Irish Socialist leader James Connolly, Bedard stressed the theoretical justification for an independent and autonomous party by citing the decision taken by the Irish Socialists at the time when that nation was still an integral part of the United Kingdom. Connolly's Irish Socialist Republican Party opted for complete autonomy from the fraternal British Labor Party because only a separate national party would allow a truly internationalist (as opposed to imperialist) relationship between the two parties, based on the free association of the two peoples.

And he went on to say that "if there is no formula like that of the PSQ, the wholly progressive nationalism of the French-Canadian proletariat (a nationalism, Bedard pointed out, which has a class content, based on the fact that 'the means of production and distribution here are owned by Anglo-American and Canadian capitalists') can be channelled into some Fascist or semi-fascist organization, such as the Social Credit party, which already has considerable support".

In his far-ranging speech, Bedard made it clear that the differences between the PSQ and the NDP leadership involve far more than the national question, important as that is. And in an obvious reference to the recent expulsion of socialist youth from the NDP in Ontario and BC, he emphasized that the PSQ is open to everyone who believes in a Socialist Party for Quebec, "and in this, it is much better than the NDP, as has been shown already". At the conclusion of his remarks, the New Left Association decided with only one dissenting vote to become the "Section Nouvelle Gauche" of the PSQ.

Perhaps the height of cynicism and dishonesty on the part of the NDP leadership was reached in a statement sent out on the eve of the PSQ founding convention, addressed (in French and English) to "all the members of the NDP in Quebec." Signed by the rump "Provisional Quebec New Democratic Party Council" (a title longer than its active membership list), the statement started off by noting that "recent events in the New Democratic Party of Quebec have bewildered partisans of the left in the province. Since the 'Congres d'Orientation' held last July there are now two parties of the left in Quebec: the New Democratic Party and the Parti Socialiste du Quebec . . .", and it went on to say: "We are in fact beset by a split between the forces of the left, a split based on a deep-seated difference of opinion on basic questions, notably on a choice affecting not only the Quebec left, but the whole of Quebec itself. The PSQ is thus (horror of horrors! — RB) not the provincial arm of the federal NDP but is an entirely different party . . ."

What the statement neglects to mention is that the same "Orientation Congress" which in the vast majority decided to found the Parti Socialiste du Quebec, was called by the original Quebec provisional council of the NDP, specifically with the aim of deciding what form the Quebec new party development would take.

Those who today wage such relentless war against the PSQ in the name of "democratic" socialism are the same elements who, supporting the "progressive" Quebec Liberal Party, helped to retard the development of the provincial labor party here. Now, when the rank-and-file members have gone ahead to form such a party, they stand on the sidelines, distributing euphemistic statements to "bewildered partisans of the left". And more serious, some of them speak openly of establishing in the future (the exact time is always unspecified) "a provincial arm of the NDP".

But perhaps it is not too much to hope that the NDP leaders will realize the folly of their actions before they commit too many errors. There may be some significance in a report from Toronto appearing in La Presse a few days after Lewis' unfortunate appearance in Montreal, headlined: "David Lewis to the people of Toronto: If you don't want to provoke Quebec for nothing, shut-up", which went on to quote Lewis as saying that "some men responsible for their acts are presently going nuts in Quebec" for the cause of "national unity". Truer words were seldom spoken.

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The PSQ answers its NDP censors

By R. Brock *(D.F.)*

(from Workers' Vanguard, February 1964)

MONTREAL — Not the least interesting reaction to the formation of the Parti Socialiste du Québec has been that of the New Democratic Party leadership. In view of the urgent need to build a new party formation in the province of Quebec, an area until recently largely untouched by labor-socialist political action, It might be expected that the NDP's official spokesmen in English Canada would welcome any development promising to change the situation. Unfortunately, such is not the case, it seems — at least as far as federal Vice-President David Lewis is concerned.

Speaking just prior to the PSQ founding convention, to the Monteal-Westmount-St. Antoine NDP riding association Lewis attacked the formation of the PSQ as a "tremendous disservice to the people of Quebec and to the NDP in Canada". Dishonestly tearing out of context a statement by panel participant Jacques-Yvon Morin of the PSQ, Lewis continued: "It pains me to hear the statement that the left in Quebec is concerned with Quebec, and not the rest of Canada". And he went on to accuse the new party of "destroying the opportunity and refusing to make an attempt to put the nationalist sentiments of Quebec in a framework of honest social objectives (sic)"*(sic: -- a precise quotation --ed.)*

Echoing Lewis, who had somewhat arbitrarily declared that there can't be "collaboration (between the NDP and PSQ) that would be meaningful outside a federal system", Prof. Charles Taylor, former NDP candidate in Mount Royal riding, stated that the PSQ is incompatible with NDP philosophy because . . . "the socialism of the NDP is predicated on the idea of cooperative federalism".

PSQ Replies to Critics

The PSQ leaders lost no time in replying to these scandalous attacks. In a very sharp statement issued to the press, they pointed out that, "Mr. Lewis is thus rejecting a line of thought adopted by the New Democratic Party and the Quebec Federation of Labour, which for several years have endorsed the principle recognizing in Canada the existence of two nations". And they noted, in part, that "the imperialist remarks of the former MP from York-South are no better than the declarations of the social-democratic leaders of the imperialist nations with respect to the nations living under their colonial yoke. They recall, for example, the behavior of a Guy Mollet towards Algeria. The French social democratic leader made common cause with French capitalism against the oppressed Algerian masses, thus betraying the principles of socialist internationalism. Although the social democratic leaders often speak of the nationalism of the peoples oppressed by other countries, they never raise their voices against the exploitative and colonialist policy of their own bourgeoisie.

"Mr. Lewis speaks to us of the 'nationalist sentiments of Quebec' but he cannot find a single word to denounce the colonialist threats of Anglo-American capitalism and the Ottawa government in our own house. He continues to see Quebec as 'une province comme les autres' (a province like the others), although in reality, the State of Quebec is the legal consecration and political expression of the French-Canadian nation.

"When the socialists of Quebec form a party with the aim of making Quebec something other than a source of raw materials and cheap manpower, that does not, according to Mr. Lewis, constitute honest social objectives.

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On the Fifth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution

(First published in the February, 1964 #94 edition of Workers VANGUARD*)*

"Full text of the speech delivered on January 2, 1964, by Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, on the occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution."

Dear guests who honor us with your presence on this Fifth Anniversary of our Revolution.

People of Cuba:

Five years have passed since the victory of the Revolution. Do we have the right to feel proud of these five years? We certainly have every right to feel proud of these five years of Revolution. We have the right to celebrate it with dignity and to continue celebrating it forever. Our country will always celebrate this anniversary. We are surer of this every day.

When the Revolution assumed power five years ago we knew that we had an immense and difficult task before us. And what was our situation then? What was the position of the people? What was the position of the leaders of the Revolution in the face of this task? It was a position of optimism, of confidence in ourselves. Of course we had self-confidence that no matter how immense and difficult the task ahead might be we would march forward.

But it was also true that we, the leaders of the Revolution, and the people, had no experience for this new task, this difficult and great task we had before us. And that is why on the day we arrived at the capital of the Republic we said with complete honesty that we felt just as we did the day we landed from the Granma *(the fishing boat that brought the July 26 movement fighters from Mexico to Cuba --ed.)*. We recalled those days when we arrived in the capital, precisely because of our inexperience, and because when the revolutionary war had ended we understood the vast difference between the experience of our fighters when we landed and our experience when the war had ended.

But the task that we had was not a military task; it was a different task, a much more complex task. It involved demolishing a whole unjust social order, a whole antiquated anachronistic social order, and building a new social order for our people. The mode of production of our society had to be completely changed for a new mode of production. A mode of production that had been entrenched for centuries, with all its traditions, its customs, its institutions, its laws, its ideas, its habits, its education, its organization, all this had to be changed for an entirely new mode of production for which we had neither the organization, nor the tradition, nor the habit, nor the customs, nor the appropriate ideas, nor the mental attitude appropriate to this new way of life.

Nevertheless, it had to be done. We could not continue living as we had in the past. The past had to be wiped out. Something entirely new had to be created. That had been the aspiration of our people for a long time. Our people had never had the opportunity to create something entirely new. Powerful forces of an international nature and powerful forces of a social nature had prevented our people, all through their history, from being able to work out their own destiny in a serious manner. The Revolution granted us that opportunity for the first time in our history.

The Revolution Was Only a Beginning

This did not mean that when we had this opportunity in our hands, that the road ahead would be easy. Nor did it mean that when our people had this opportunity, they would begin from the very first day to do things marvelously. It did not mean that we had an accurate, clear, detailed knowledge from the first day, of what we should do with this new opportunity.

But we did know one thing, and we all knew it: the victory of the Revolution meant the end of injustice. We, knew that the victory of the Revolution would mean the end of abuses, the end of privileges, and, in the course of time, the end of poverty, unemployment: in short, the end of the exploitation of our people. We knew that an entirely new era was beginning, and just as in the past we were accustomed to seeing injustice and abuse everywhere, now there is not a single Cuban who would calmly accept seeing injustice or abuse.

This does not mean that a series of vices and faults, a series of injustices, and minor privileges in the life of a country can be ended overnight. But what does end, what will end very soon is the old spirit of conformity, the old lack of hope and of optimism.

And the mentality of our people has radically changed in the last five years. In these past five years, from the point of view of building a new life, a new society, which will take many years, we have barely begun. But in these years, from the point of view of consciousness, from the point of view of the mentality of the people, there has been a transcendental and irreversible change.

Because one thing is very clear, and that is, that every Cuban who is present here and millions of Cubans throughout the island know that an irreversible decision has/been taken and that the past is falling further behind and will never be able to return to our country.

Nothing Will Stop Our Victorious Advance

What is our present like? Our present is a present of work, of effort and difficulties. That we know. But nevertheless there is nothing that can change the limitless hope we place in today's effort, the limitless hope we place In the future. Nothing can make us

change it for that past without hope, that shameful past, that sad past for the people: sad for the people, because the only ones who long for the past are, those who in the past had everything and never worried about the people.

They never thought of the suffering and the tears of the people. The people always wept, always suffered, always sweated, always bled, and no one thought of them. No one remembered them.

Let the exploiters weep today. Let the exploiters shed their tears. Let the exploiters sweat washing dishes in Miami. Let the bourgeois ladles sweat working as servants of the imperialists, or endure the shame of stretching out their hands to receive alms from their imperialist masters. May there be charity over there in the entrails of imperialism, and let the exploiters of yesterday beg for charity, for today, in this country, there are no beggars. Let them brood over the loss of their privileges. Let them brood over their hatred of the people, and no one will take pity on them.

Let them and their masters do whatever they wish to hinder the advance of the people. Let them do everything they can; they will achieve nothing; for nothing will stop the victorious advance of our people.

And this is why the basic sensation, the prevailing sentiment in every one of us today, is the certainty that we are winning. It is a feeling of victory; it is a feeling of five years of victory.

The very fact of saying five years here, before the people, before this huge crowd in the Plaza Civica, is in itself a victory that our enemies could never have imagined.

It is not just our victory. It is not victory over Batista and his clique, it is not victory over the counterrevolutionary gangs, over the reactionary exploiters. The people easily swept these enemies out of their way. It is victory over the U.S. Imperialists.

It is five years of resistance against U.S. imperialism. It is the revolutionary power that has maintained itself against the effort, the hostility, and the systematic aggression of U.S. imperialism. And if this victory means a great deal to us, it also means a great deal to the imperialists. For in their domineering minds, in their minds used to trampling over the peoples of our America, there was no room for the thought, nor could there be any room for it that this nation – our small nation living on this island — could have resisted and even emerge victorious, from these five years of hard, head-on battle with imperialism.

And this shows how much things have changed in the world. They have a great deal to learn from the example of the Cuban Revolution. This revolution is teaching both reactionaries and revolutionaries. The revolutionaries receive an encouraging lesson from our revolution, and the reactionaries receive a discouraging lesson from it. The imperialists have to understand this.

And if they do not understand, it is because they are stupid. If they do not understand it is because they are wearing the same kind of blinders that mules wear. If they do not understand, it is because it is hard work for them to do so. But they must understand, and they will understand, although they do not want to — what other choice have they? — that there is an entirely new and different situation in the world, that great changes have taken place in the world.

Ours is Part of the World Revolution

In the midst of our well-earned revolutionary pride and our well-earned satisfaction at what the Cuban people have accomplished, we must keep in mind that the Cuban Revolution was possible only because of the new conditions existing in the world.

The Cuban Revolution is part of the very powerful movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the exploited and colonized peoples. Our Revolution is part of that very powerful world revolutionary movement that started with the historic revolution of the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union — the Revolution of Lenin, the Revolution of Marx and Engels. And this powerful revolutionary movement grew more and more powerful. And today it has the strength of all the countries of the socialist camp, of all the countries on all continents that struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

It is true that we alone could not have resisted imperialism, that without this powerful force, this powerful movement, we could not have resisted the blockades, the attacks, the economic strangulation that imperialism used against our country. It is true that we have felt the effects of this campaign, of this blockade, and of the economic effort to strangle our country. But they have not been able to crush the Revolution. And what is more, the economy of the country is developing amidst these conditions.

What I am saying today, the fact that our revolution is part of, and can count on, this universal revolution, was made very clear when our armed forces were on parade. We saw with pride the fighting units of our people; we saw with pride their discipline and their organization. All the people saw their weapons on parade.

This was not an old-fashioned military parade. The old ones were a display of old, out-dated equipment that imperialism gave its servants to oppress the workers. The weapons that were displayed here today are not outmoded, are not junk. They are up-to-date military equipment which our Revolution has received to resist the imperialists. *(Emphasis by the Ed. – note the weight of the Russian Revolution in assuring the survival of the Cuban.)*

The servants of imperialism, with their police forces and their mercenary armies, do not need such modern weapons to attack student demonstrations, to attack workers' demonstrations, to murder farmers, to persecute revolutionaries. They do not need modern equipment for that. But to resist imperialists and their attacks, we do need powerful weapons, up-to-date weapons.

See how things have been changing in the course of the past five years. The imperialists would no longer think of disturbing the peaceful work of our country with an Invasion such as that of Playa Giron *(a reference to the CIA-sponsored attempted mercenaries' invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, quickly routed – Ed.)* They would no longer think of occupying a piece of our territory to start a long, drawn-out war. They no longer think of that. Why? Because they know what we have; because they know the military might of our Revolution.

Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into a small war against us. Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into an invasion of Cuba, for they know that they would last only ten minutes on our beaches.

We prefer to have our forces continue to parade before the people every year as a guarantee of their security and their future. Let us hope that our weapons will never have to be used. Let us hope that not one of these cannons ever has to be fired. Let us hope that not one of these tanks, missile units or planes, ever has to fight. Let us hope that not one of our fighters has to die. This is our most profound wish.

We do not have these weapons for decoration, or because of a whim. Our people want to live in peace. If our people were not forced to live under constant danger there would not be tens of thousands of magnificent men handling complex weapons. These men would be in production. They would be working in the factories and fields, increasing production, raising the standard of living of our people. And the resources and the fuel spent on these weapons would be invested instead in means of production.

That is why it is our wish that those weapons never have to he used. And the stronger our Revolution becomes, the greater the respect of our enemies will be. For with these weapons we cannot only defend ourselves from mercenary attacks, from the attacks of the puppets of imperialism, but can also fight against the best and best-equipped units of the imperialist army of the United States.

The imperialists know that it would be no picnic. They know that the people of Cuba will fight. They know that the Cuban people will fight to the last man and woman. They know that the Cuban people will never surrender. But not only this; they also know that the people of Cuba do not stand alone, they know that the people of Cuba would not fight alone in this struggle. Therefore, it has become more and more difficult for the imperialists. And it would be a good thing if on this Fifth Anniversary of the victory of the Revolution, the imperialists would sit down for a few minutes and think things over.

Some U.S. newspapers, among those that from time to time write objectively, are beginning to realize these things. I've brought a copy of a cable of a *New York Times* editorial. See what this prominent U.S. newspaper says on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of our Revolution: "**The Cuban Revolution will be five years old tonight, and the Castro regime is certainly strong, and possibly stronger than ever.**"

"**A list of its sins**", the *New York Times* adds — you already know what our sins are —

"**a list of its sins and mistakes have been reported in detail year after year, but the existence and strength of the Cuban Revolution after five years, and the fact that there is no apparent weakening in the attraction of Prime Minister Castro within Cuba, or in his stature as a world figure, require an explanation**."

You will forgive me for reading this paragraph about myself. This is not what interests me. I am interested in pointing out what the imperialists are thinking. The imperialists try to personify. They do not say that this is the revolution of the people of Cuba, they say that it is Castro's Revolution, as if Castro and the people were two different things, as if it were possible for individuals to make revolutions. What can anyone do without the people?

And then the *Times* goes on — see how the facts are teaching them. It says: "**A revolution is, and always has been, a very complex social, political and economic historical phenomenon, with good and bad aspects. These uprisings begin by destroying the social, political and economic structure of the country.**" This is true. And the *Times* adds: "**It is a tragic experience for any nation, and it has been so for Cuba**". This is untrue. It has been tragic for the exploiters, for the bourgeoisie, but never for the people. It has been tragic for the imperialists, but never for our people.

Then the newspaper says that "**things were made worse by the clumsiness of the young revolutionary leaders**". That is true, to some extent; we are not going to say now that we are wise men. But what they called clumsiness was not exactly clumsiness. It was the laws that nationalized imperialist enterprises. Then it says: "**But that is not all that is happening in Cuba**"— listen to what they say — "**all children are receiving an education, the majority are being well fed and well cared for, regardless of how poor their parents may be**". And it adds: "t**he Negro and mulatto population, from a quarter to a third of the total, is obtaining genuine equality. The heads of government are free from financial scandal. These aspects are new in the history of Cuba. It would be foolish to make predictions, but to have survived five years is an outstanding fact, the explanation of which cannot be attributed to simple causes.**"

These objective words in which realities are acknowledged are really significant, for it is not we who are saying it. And for example, the fact that they speak of genuine equality in our country has much to say to many countries of the world, to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, wherever that equality does not exist. The fact that they recognize that all children are receiving an education is to recognize something in Cuba that does not exist to the same extent in any other Latin American country, not even in the United States itself.

The fact that they say that all children are generally well fed regardless of how poor their parents may be — of how many countries in the world can this be said? That the men in the Revolution have not stolen a cent — of how many countries, of the politicians of how many countries, can this be said? And of course, they say that this is completely new. And how could it help but be new when this was a country of corruption and vice, of

pillage, of illiteracy, of unemployment, of hundreds of thousands of children without schools, without food, of unemployed families?

Something else has to be added to this: How have we managed to do this, and how have we had to do it? Under what conditions? The imperialists speak of their Alliance for Progress, and they continually complain that it does not progress.

They speak of their Alliance for Progress which has accomplished nothing of the sort, and yet there is no other country of America on which there weighs an economic blockade like the one maintained against us, there is no other country in America whose trade, whose transportation of exports and imports has been blockaded by the United States. There is no other country in America whose economy is sabotaged the way the United States sabotages ours. There is no other country in America where the imperialists have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out acts of sabotage, burn sugar cane, destroy factories, commit crimes, carry out pirate raids, invasions, subversive activities, espionage. There has not been one country where they have done that, and yet nowhere has there been the change, the quick, extraordinary advance that has taken place in Cuba.

Of course not all Latin American countries are in the same condition, and we do not have the same opinion of all Latin American governments. But the fact is that the imperialists complain that the Alliance for Progress does not progress. And why doesn't the Alliance progress while the Cuban Revolution does? Why?

Before the Revolution the imperialists did not use that language, they used another language, they did not use the words **progress, Alliance for Progress.** No, they were completely unconcerned with the situation. Today they are not worrying over the fact that they themselves are "revolutionaries" — They speak about a peaceful revolution. And they want to carry out a peaceful revolution through the Alliance. But they do not do it because they are revolutionaries, or because they love revolution. They do it because they fear a revolution like ours. They fear true revolutions like ours. No one in the world believes that the imperialists are philanthropists when they talk about allocating funds for building a few small schools, some hospitals, some roads, and when they send out their peace corps, which is an espionage corps. But in the old days they did not even do that. They began to do all these things after the triumph of the revolution. That is why those hypocritical and opportunist measures are surely going to fail. That is a fact, an obvious fact.

Furthermore, the Alliance for Progress presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation. The Alliance entails some fiscal reforms, some mild agrarian reforms, and some other measures. It stipulates that politicians should not steal the people's money and that the bourgeoisie should not deposit their money in foreign banks. But at the same time, it presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation.

We are not Abandoning Industrialization

As I will explain to you later, our economic situation today could not be better. Our-8 situation today can be compared with others, and it can be said that it is one of the best on this continent in spite of the imperialists, in spite of their blockade. Because the. merit of our successes is that they have been won in the struggle against imperialism, amidst the imperialist blockade.

That is why the imperialists are trying to prevent visitors coming to Cuba. They are not only trying to prevent Latin Americans from visiting Cuba, they are also trying to prevent the people of the United States from visiting us. They carry on a campaign — we read many of the things they publish, and the truth is that day by day they grow more ridiculous, and have less effect. I will give you an example

Recently, we enacted the final agrarian law. Then it was announced that there would be no more agrarian laws — really, the agrarian revolution had already been carried out. It was not an agrarian reform, but an agrarian revolution.

What did the imperialist cables say? "Castro abandons the agrarian reform, when what we were doing was concluding the agrarian reform". Abandon the agrarian reform? We give definite guarantees to the small farm owner because he is an ally of the Revolution, because he can produce along with the people's farms; but 70% of Cuban land is producing through socialist enterprises, through state-owned enterprises. Seventy per cent of the land formerly belonging to the imperialists and large local land owners today belongs to the people, to the nation, and thanks to this we can give an extraordinary impulse to agriculture.

But, together with these people's farms, we have the small farm owners who have the other 30% of the land; who were freed from payment of rent by the Revolution, and who constitute the great peasant mass allied to the Revolution.

When we are carrying out our agrarian reform the imperialists tell the world: "Cuba is abandoning the agrarian reform." When the Revolution talks about developing agriculture, sugar cane, cattle, taking advantage of the fact that we have 160 sugar mills that have been working one hundred days yearly, and that could function 170 or 180 days, by grinding cane that ripens early and cane that ripens late, knowing that with our installed industrial capacity we could double our sugar production, when we speak of the development of our agriculture, they say: "Cuba has abandoned her industrialization program".

Are we abandoning industrialization when we have thousands and thousands of young people in our technological schools? Are we abandoning industrialization when hundreds of thousands of workers are studying, raising their educational level and acquiring a minimum technical knowledge? When what we are doing is creating the economic basis and human basis for our industrialization? But what is not the same is the development of industry in this first stage, in our present conditions; it is slower. Agriculture can be

developed faster. But, are we abandoning industry? No!

We are going to continue and we are going to carry out the industrialization of the country, and this will be through the means derived from sugar, with the foreign exchange we get from sugar, and with the means derived from cattle. We are going to develop the industries best suited to our conditions, and we are going to specialize in certain branches of industry. The imperialists publish this to make people believe that we are abandoning our industrialization plans. No! What we are going to do is take maximum advantage of our agricultural conditions. And besides, we are a food-producing country, a producer of foods that are in much demand.

Certain consumer industries have developed so much in the world that there are twenty car-loads pursuing each customer. But, there are no 2,000 pounds of meat pursuing each consumer. There are no 2,000 pounds of sugar pursuing each consumer. And our products, our agricultural products, command a very good price.

If, when sugar prices rise above 10 cents, we do not cultivate sugar cane, this is what the imperialists would like. For the imperialists are going crazy with these problems they themselves have created.

We have received extraordinary aid, of course, from our brothers of the socialist camp. And it has been, above all, sincere aid, honest aid, internationalist aid.

But we have also received unexpected aid, aid not open to suspicion: the aid of the imperialists. It has not been conscious aid— don't ever imagine that—it has been the involuntary aid of the imperialists. The imperialists have helped us with their aggressive measures in certain things, such as depriving us of our sugar quota in order to ruin us. They helped us. This measure boomeranged against them.

========PHOTO CAPTION BOX ==========

Photo caption: Out of the degradation of the bohios (peasants' huts) – into the world of education! Thousands of Cuban children for the first time are learning to read and write and are being introduced to modern technology in preparation for the socialist future of the Americas.

Imperialists to Blame for Sugar Price Hoist

What happened when they deprived us of the quota? Cuba needed new markets. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp decided to buy our sugar. In other words, a new market opened. Of course, even before the imperialists deprived us of the quota, Cuba had already sold one million tons to the Soviet Union by agreement. But when our quota was taken away, then the Soviet Union offered to buy all the sugar the United States did not buy. The result: this sugar went to a new market, and the imperialists turned to the world market to buy sugar. At that time the world market price was low and

they tried to benefit by it. But, what happened? Something they had not foreseen. After a few years sugar prices began to rise and rise, and at this moment sugar is above ten cents. Last year the imperialists had to spend 400 million dollars more than if they had bought our sugar. And it will be between 400 and 500 million this year.

But there is more: they are playing tricks, they are cheating. Recently, they had to announce the amount of sugar they must buy. But since the price was high, they told a lie: they published figures that were 600,000 tons less than they really need. What for? To try to lower prices.

And something else: They announced a domestic sugar production higher than they actually have, to try to lower prices. We kept quiet because we really don't deal in a speculative policy. We would have been, and we are, ready to trade with any country on a long-term basis and at a price way below ten cents. We are ready. We do not want to base our economy on the speculative principles of the capitalists. If sugar is in the clouds — the price, and sugar also, of course — it is not our fault. The imperialists are to blame. If many countries have had to pay much more for sugar, it is not our fault; the imperialists are to blame, because they are the ones who have created this situation.

But, anyway, the sugar-producing countries, many of which have underdeveloped economies, have received better prices and we feel glad. We are glad that they have received better prices. To be glad of that is one thing. And to say that we are going to give up our market for the benefit of those who wanted to take over our market under the conditions of the imperialist blockade, ah, that is another story!

We have already announced the amount of sugar that we are going to produce by 1970. And we have already said that we are ready to sell it at whatever price may be necessary by that time and recover our market. And we have already clearly said: nature gave our country exceptional conditions for producing sugar cheaper than any other country in the world. And those conditions are a gift of nature — that is, our land. We lack other things, but we have that advantage, and with that advantage we are ready to fight. With that advantage, we are ready to compete. Yes, to compete with our bourgeois competitors. We will see which is stronger in producing sugar, the bourgeois economy or the socialist economy. We have already announced that by 1970 we will produce ten million tons of sugar. Naturally, prices in 1970 will not be the same as today, but there will be more income, because there will be more volume.

The imperialists have harmed many nations through their policy against Cuba. They have not only harmed us, but many other countries as well. What is more absurd, they have harmed many countries that are their allies.

The imperialist trade-blockade policy involves a hate-inspiring position, a position repudiated by the whole world, a position: against liberty and free-trade, principles defended by all states, whether socialist or capitalist.

It can be said that freedom of trade, because of its universal convenience, is a principle

that is universally defended by all nations, except the U.S. imperialists. But behind this position lie other matters. The imperialists wish to defend their interests, to defend their shipping companies, to put ships of Norway, Britain, France,. Spain, Japan, Sweden, Greece and other countries out of business. For more than half a dozen countries receive large incomes from merchant shipping. And the imperialists have been scheming against the interests of these countries while defending the interests of their own merchant fleets.

And here I have another cable that reads: "**Eleven countries have jointly protested against attempts of the U.S. government to control maritime freight tariffs for their own benefit and under threat of reprisal. In the name of the governments of Great Britain, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the Netherlands Ambassador in Washington delivered a note of protest to the U.S. State Department. The U.S. press points out that the eleven-nation protest is due to attempts by the U.S. Federal Merchant Marine Commission to demand that shipping companies of those countries submit data on their operations. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department confirmed that the government had received the note of protest, but refused to give the text to the press.**"

In other words, this is part of a policy. Using Cuba as a pretext they are trying to replace the shipping lines of these other countries by their own ships in trade between countries and the United States.

Now, in addition, the main difficulty regarding the sale of U.S. wheat to the Soviet Union has been that the U.S. government has tried to protect its shipping companies. Naturally, other maritime countries are protesting against this privilege that the United States is trying to arrogate to itself since freights charged by U.S. ships are higher, and these companies receive subsidies from the U.S. government.

What is the only country in the world that follows this policy? The United States! What country follows a really stupid international policy? The United States!

There are some things that are very clear. For example: the United States tries to isolate the socialist camp economically, tries to isolate the People's Republic of China, to isolate Cuba. That is to say, it tries to isolate more than one thousand million people. This is a most stupid policy, one that goes against the interests of the United States itself. What has happened?

Washington's Trade Blockade Policy Boomeranging

What has happened is that other capitalist countries do buy and sell to the socialist camp. They buy and sell to People's China. They buy and sell to Cuba. The result: while the gold reserves of different capitalist countries are increasing and their industry is developing, U.S. gold reserves are decreasing. And the most serious headache the imperialists suffer today is the continuous decline in their gold reserves. They say they have taken these measures to defend U.S. security. This is what they tell the people of the

United States. And what they are really doing is to weaken their own security, not only their economy. For to the extent that their gold reserves decline their world position weakens.

But not only this; as their gold reserves decline — as a result of their stupid policy, of their warmongering policy, of their military bases policy — they have to strangle the economy of many countries and take away their gold.

Thus we have the example of Japan. Japan spends two thousand million dollars in the United States, and the United States buys only one thousand million dollars worth of goods from Japan. That is to say, many countries in Latin America, in Asia, have to raise dollars to send to the United States, and this hurts these countries. And when countries like Japan and others have to seed dollars to the United States, they harm their trade with other countries of the world. For naturally, if a country collects on one side to give it away on the other, trade becomes more difficult for it than if it buys where it sells. That is, it sells, and receives foreign exchange; it buys, and hands over foreign exchange.

From our own experience we have seen how trade becomes easier when it is kept in balance. For example: Japan needs sugar, it buys it from us. But we do not use the dollars paid by Japan to buy from another country. No. We try to spend in Japan what Japan pays us. We try to spend in Britain what Britain spends with us. We try to spend in Spain what Spain spends with us. And thus, from the moment Cuba started practicing free trade and freed itself from the International Monetary Fund, it has been able to trade with all countries of the world.

The imperialists do not want these countries to trade with us and try to put pressure on them. But these countries, these nations, have their own interests, which are not the interests of the U.S. monopolies. These countries need our products, and at the same time we need a market for our products. They are not willing to let themselves be influenced by imperialist pressure and therefore the policy followed by the United States in respect to Cuba is a greater failure every day. Their pressures have less and less impact and our trade is developing more and more.

What do the imperialists do when a country trades with us? I have another cable here that reads: "The United States has told Spain that Its growing trade and shipping with Cuba endangers the aid it receives from the United States." It is a very carefully edited statement — you know how these people edit things — but basically they all say the same thing. It is blackmail, a threat, pressure, and no matter how carefully they edit it, this they cannot conceal! "In a carefully worded statement, the State Department reported tonight that the matter is being discussed in Madrid with the Spanish government. The State Department says that two clauses in the Law are involved in the problem. One is included in the foreign-aid law approved last year, and the other in the foreign-aid law that Congress approved this week."

In short, when a country trades with Cuba they threaten it. They try to blackmail it. They threaten to cancel aid.

What kind of aid is this? What kind of friends are the imperialists? What kind of blackmailers? No country tolerates this kind of prohibition. And no country that respects the sovereignty of others makes such prohibitions. It would, be absurd if we told any country: "We will not buy from you or sell to you if you trade with such and such a country." They would say: "You are crazy." But why haven't they said yet that the imperialists are crazy? Because the imperialists had many resources, because they were strong, but since that strength and those resources are declining, many people will begin to realize how crazy and how stupid the U.S. imperialists are when they do such things. They are trying to enforce a policy of isolation.

They try to impose an isolation policy. Of course, they could do this when only one country was involved. But when it involves many countries this policy becomes more difficult to enforce. The final result is that they are the ones who are isolated. And they will remain isolated. For our country is establishing trade with other capitalist countries which later will have no need for trade with the U.S. We are less and less interested in trade with the U.S. Why? Because we seek other markets. Because we look for other buyers, and, besides, we buy products from other countries. In the long run what the imperialists are doing is losing big markets. They are putting a noose around their neck with their own policy. And what is the result?

We Have Gained in Organization, Earnestness

Here we are. Are we starving? No! Is our Revolution weaker? No! And how is our economy getting along? Our economy is improving. We must leave them to their illusions. U.S. news cables speak of nothing but horrors. They report that everyone here is starving to death. Let them hang onto their illusions. If they think they will defeat us in this way — wonderful! But I don't know what has gotten into these people. They have turned into idiots.

I am going to tell you what our situation is. Our economic position is improving greatly. I will give you a few facts: when the Revolution came to power there was less than 70 million dollars in the nation's reserve. Our reserves at present are more than 100 million dollars.

There is something more. 1963 was a better year than 1962, was it not? However, in 1964 the value of our exports will be at least 200 million dollars higher than in 1963. The value of our exports in 1964 will be more than 750 million dollars — at least 200 million dollars more than in 1963. To give you an idea of what this means it is enough to say that some big countries of Latin America, like Brazil, will export a little over that amount. Of course, they have a more developed economy and they have more industries. But anyway, the exports of our country, with a population of a little over seven million, will amount to more than 750 million dollars.

Now you see what a failure the imperialist blockade is. How ridiculous! How useless! How many enemies it has created for the United States! And in the long run how" we

have managed to overcome the difficulties! How much we have gained in organization, in earnestness, in firmness! How much has the spirit of this country been strengthened as a result of this blockade! And you can see how the distribution of .food was much better in 1963 than it was in 1962. And you can see, in spite of the hurricane, in spite of the damage caused by the hurricane, the perspectives that our country has for next year!

What will the future be like, as the organization and the experience that we are acquiring are put into action, as we improve the quality of our work, as we learn how to apply technology to production?

The comrades of our youth organizations, the Union of Young Communists and the Students Union, did very well bringing this torch of the Technical Revolution here. For we have to conduct the Technical Revolution! We have to put an end to old methods in the cane fields! We have already ended old methods In politics, and now we are going to end old methods in agriculture.

A man with a hoe is a pre-historic man as far as production is concerned. A man with a machete cutting grasses is a pre-historic man. It is logical that under capitalism this should happen, for the capitalists did not have markets, the imperialists did not allow them to have markets, neither for sugar nor for meat. That is why, had they mechanized, the population would have died of hunger. They had to go on using a spade and a machete. Their production was very low. A man with a scythe can produce for himself and his family and perhaps for a few more. A man with a modern combine can produce meat for four or five hundred persons, he can produce milk for hundreds of persons, he can produce much more sugar.

We have to eradicate our pre-historic and primitive methods of production to make room for modern scientific and technical methods of production. We are going in that direction, we have to mechanize all of our agriculture. We have to apply technology to all of our agriculture, and we have to apply technology to our Industry as much as possible, because that is what will increase production per man and per hour, and that is what will raise the standard of living of our people.

Not Just Words and Promises, But Deeds!

And fortunately, today the Revolution is not just words and promises. The Revolution is deeds! We said right after the hurricane which caused so much damage to the nation, that by the 15th of December the levels of supply would be re-established. And this has been done. And at the close of this year there have been incomparably more products for the people's consumption than in previous years.

And I am going to tell you something more. Up to now there has been an inflationary process, but this year it will be the reverse. The money in circulation will not increase. Money is already being withdrawn from circulation, and there will be no new issues in

1964; on the contrary, the National Bank plans to take some 70 million dollars out of circulation. That is, our economy is improving greatly. This is the way by which line-ups will be ended. And this is the way by which our standard of living will continue to improve.

What country in Latin America has an economic situation like this? Most of the Latin American countries are in a tremendous period of inflation which has no apparent solution. And Cuba is beginning to move in the opposite direction. Its reserves are increasing, inflation is being fought, there is an anti-inflationary process. What does it mean for us to have more reserves? If this were a bourgeois and capitalist country it would mean that this wealth would turn into Cadillacs, into automobiles, into trips to Miami, Paris, and everywhere. But what does the increase of reserves mean under socialism? They are not going to be invested in luxuries. They are going to be invested in instruments of labor, in tractors, in farm machinery, in factories, in raw materials, and in consumer goods for the people. Because we never forget the needs of the people.

Of these reserves, one part will be used to improve our economy, for investments, to develop our economy. Another part will be used to improve the consuming power of the people. Because the people who work, the people who struggle, the people who are building a better life for the coming generations, also have the right — and Cuba's conditions allow it — to receive part of the fruit of their effort and to improve their living conditions.

There are a number of things that we need, and it would not be logical for us to start buying automobiles. We prefer the "old jalopies" circulating now. We have to bring new buses, yes, and we are going to bring new buses to improve transportation. And we have to bring new trains, and we are going to bring new trains to improve inter-provincial transportation. Our airlines have improved. We are going to improve our maritime lines, instead of buying Cadillacs, instead of taking trips abroad. We must invest these resources which we have as a result of the high price of sugar, and the improvement in our economy, to solve basic problems, fundamental problems. It does not matter if there are no beautiful cars. No! But there will be locomotives for our railway transport. There will be passenger trains. There will be buses for the transportation, of our people. Because the people here, the large mass of the people, never had cars.

There will be transportation for our goods, and in this way we can break the imperialist blockade. There will be fishing boats to increase the people's consumption of proteins and their general nourishment, to market tens of thousands of tons of tuna, which the people like so well, and many other species of fish. I don't want to speak of haddock, because so much of it came, and they sold it so often that the people got tired of it, although haddock is a fine dish and highly esteemed in all parts of the world.

The Perspective of Peace for Our People?

And those reserves, what should they be invested in? Not in automobiles. We will

have to buy some cars for taxis, with meters and everything. We will have to be thinking about this so that thousands of taxi drivers who are working and who see that their cars are getting, old will be able to work in the taxi business in the future with fewer worries than today. For in our country there are definitely opportunities for all, including those very taxi drivers whom we have often criticized, but who, I believe, have improved lately. Isn't that so? And they will be able to continue working in the future.

And when a working-man in a hurry takes a taxi he will know how much it will cost because there will be a meter marking it, and there will be no tricks. And we will make state enterprises where the drivers whose cars are already too old will work with a good salary. We are not going to invest our money in buying cars to hand them over to anyone without control over the rates charged the people. But there are opportunities for the workers in that field. They are independent workers, but we have to think about them. We are thinking of all of them, and we are really beginning a stage of progress, of improvement, and the results are already beginning to be seen everywhere.

Year by year, these results will be seen, and we will see the results of the organized force of the people at production and work. And we will see what this reinforcement of technicians means — the cadres that are being trained in our universities and in our technical schools. To our visitors we say: this is the Cuban panorama! This is not the Cuba presented by the imperialist news agencies. This is the real Cuba, the optimistic Cuba, the Cuba that supports the Revolution, the Cuba whose enthusiasm never decreases, the Cuba that is confident in her future, the Cuba that desires a future of peace, and the Cuba that has the right to be respected and be left in peace.

We can therefore say that perspectives are really good, and that the Year of the Economy promises great successes.

What are the perspectives of peace for our people? Well, there is a universal trend for peace in the world at this time, a universal wish for peace, a universal current of optimism, because mankind knows that peace means welfare, that peace means development, improvement of the economy, and progress for the peoples. This is truer of the socialist countries than anywhere else. For in the socialist countries we have no internal contradictions, we have no contradiction in our economies, we have no crises of overproduction because the economy develops according to plan.

But also, for the capitalist countries, peace means more markets, more trade opportunities, fewer possibilities of crises. Trade, peace, peaceful coexistence, benefit both the countries of the socialist camp and the countries of the capitalist camp. What has the new President of the United States said in these last few days? I have another cable. It says: "**President Lyndon B. Johnson today urged the world to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. He announced that in 1964 he will conduct an unrelenting peace offensive to improve relations with the** *(Russian)* **Soviet Union. Sources close to the Chief of State said that Johnson believes that the United States cannot wait a whole year until the coming elections to exert the maximum pressure on behalf of peace**.

"Johnson and Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev today exchanged promises that they will strive to improve relations in 1964. A message was received at the White House in Washington yesterday from the Soviet leader expressing the hope that 1964 will be characterized by additional and significant progress, the solution of important international problems, and the improvement of relations between our countries in the interest of the Soviet and American peoples and on behalf of the strengthening of world peace.

"In his reply the President of the United States said that the time of speaking about peace was past: '1964 must be a year to take measures aimed at achieving that objective. The efforts by chemists in the laboratories, the scientists in space and the agricultural experts in the fields will be in vain unless we learn to live together in peace', he said. 'No achievement In physical science can be compared to what may be attained in the field of political science by giving the world a just peace'.

"And he continued: 'The American people and their government have set the strengthening of peace as their highest objective in the New Year. I myself am totally committed to attaining better understanding among peoples everywhere: peace on earth, good will to men must not be a mere illusion. We can convert it into reality'. Johnson's message, which is also addressed to Soviet President Brezhnev, ends by saying, 'the destiny of peace and the hopes of millions have been placed in our hands. I fervently hope we will be good custodians of this trust'."

President Johnson Responsible for Bloodshed

This is certainly a declaration of peace. It could be called an encouraging declaration of peace. But we have our reservations. Unfortunately we have to insert a "**but"**. We would prefer not to have any reason to insert a "**but,**" Johnson says in his message that he is committed to attaining greater understanding among peoples everywhere. Good! We and the American people are also part of those peoples. He says that we must learn to live together in peace and that it is time to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. Good! But only a few days ago, on the eve of December 24th, C.I.A. agents criminally shed Cuban blood — C.I.A. agents coming from and operating from Florida.

And something else: we know that the people who took part in the operations of the **Rex** pirate ship were the same as those who placed an underwater mine on the hull of one of our warships. And not only that: they planned a trap. They tried to cause a massacre like the one of **La Coubre** *(an earlier explosion that sank a freighter in Havana harbour – Ed.) I*n other words, first they caused a small explosion — the bomb which they had placed under cover of darkness — operating underwater, placing it so that it would first make a small explosion. And a few minutes later, when the crew gathered to see what had happened, there would be a big explosion. It cost the lives of three comrades in the Revolutionary Navy, and it cost the blood of 17 other comrades who were injured.

That was a criminal attack, a cowardly attack, an unjustifiable attack. That was the Christmas gift from the C.I.A., that was the Christmas gift from the United States to the Cuban people: the blood of young Cubans, criminally, traitorously and cowardly shed. And since the CIA. does not act on its own account, since the C.I.A. acts on behalf of the United States, we have the right to say that President Johnson is responsible for the blood our young comrades shed there.

And we therefore have the right to tell him that it is time to talk less and do more for peace. For such actions are no way to advocate peace. Such violations of international law are no way to advocate peace. Such bloody actions are no way to advocate peace. They are shameless and cowardly actions. The blood that has been lost hurts us, but it discredits the United States, It gives them no prestige, no glory.

Let No Country be Excluded from Peace!

We want peace. We desire peace — peace here in Cuba and peace in South Vietnam where there are 15,000 American soldiers, where thousands and thousands of U.S. mercenaries are bombing the Vietnamese people, murdering Vietnamese peasants, workers and patriots. What are the soldiers of U.S. imperialism doing there, waging such a cowardly, stupid, criminal war? Let not a single nation be excluded from the right to peace! Let this right to peace, so longed for by all nations, so rightly proclaimed and tenaciously fought for, not be denied to any nation or to any people of the World.

If the U.S. imperialists believe that there can be peace when attacking small countries, when shedding Cuban blood, the blood of other peoples, when interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, this is not a peaceful concept. Each country must decide its own destiny freely, by itself. It must choose its own path freely, by itself.

This is an indispensable condition for world peace. Let us hope that the leaders of the United States understand the errors and stupidity of their policy. May they join the struggle for peace, whose standard-bearers have been the countries of the socialist camp. Peace is today a sentiment that has universal support, even within the United States itself. The policy of force, of the cold war, of belligerency, of warmongering, is more and more discredited, has less and less prestige.

Our country wants to live in peace and our country can live in peace with all other countries. Why? Because we do not have to take anything from anybody. We do not have to interfere in anybody's affairs; we have but one task, one wish, one right: to work, to progress, to make our country advance. We do not have to interfere in any country's trade. We do not have to create difficulties for any country. All countries may benefit from dealing with us. All countries can sell to us. We can buy from and sell to any country. We do not practice discrimination against anyone. We exclude no one. Our trade is open to all countries alike. We trade with all sister countries of the socialist camp, and we are willing to trade under conditions of mutual benefit with all capitalist countries, even the United States.

They believe that they are doing us great harm by not trading with us. And they are wrong. Facts are proving us right. Their economic aggressions are boomeranging against them. We are not begging them to trade with us. They could not tempt our revolution with such a coin. Should they some day want to normalize their relations with us it will have to be on the basis of the strictest and fullest respect for our sovereignty and our economic, social and political system.

We will never make ideological concessions, and we will maintain an unyielding Marxist-Leninist position. Nevertheless, this is no obstacle to our living in peace. It would be absurd for us to tell the people of the United States that if they want to trade and have good relations with us they must give up their bourgeois philosophy. It would be absurd for us to place conditions on what they do over there. That would be so ridiculous no one would think of it. Well, then, neither should they tell us these things, because it is just as ridiculous.

They talk about Marxism; that it is not tolerable, that it is not admissable. And who are they to decide how every country should be governed? Who are they to issue laws within the border of another country? Our right, just as that of any country of Latin America, is and always must be to choose the type of government that we deem suit able.

If a country does not want to make a Revolution, let it not make it. That is its own business. If it wants to make it, let it make it. That is that country's right; it is every country's right.

On the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty of every country, we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent. On the basis of a principled policy we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent.

What we will not accept is the policy they want to implement against us. What we will not accept is what they proclaim so much! They accuse us of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, when they are precisely the ones who have been shamelessly interfering in the internal affairs of Cuba for the past five years, committing all sorts of villainies and aggressions. What do they think? Are they going to blame us for all the crimes the United States has committed against us? The governments of Latin America cannot do that. The governments of Latin America cannot play deaf. They cannot turn a deaf ear to the realities of the misdeeds and crimes which the imperialists commit against our nation, and then condemn Cuba because that suits US. imperialism, because that is what U.S. imperialism wants. Each country in Latin America is free to do what it considers appropriate. Each country in America should know what its interests are.

Latin American Debt to Cuban Revolution

But it is good to warn the nations and governments of Latin America that they have a

lot to thank Cuba and the Cuban Revolution for, because if today many governments are not treated as dogs by U.S. imperialism — although every once in a while imperialism boots out some government in Latin America — it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If today the nations of Latin Amerca hope to demand better prices from the imperialists for their products, if they have the hope that the imperialists will lend them some money, it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If the Cuban Revolution should be crushed by the imperialists today, on the following day the imperialists would destroy the economy and interests of all the nations of Latin America.

The governments of Latin America must understand that to conspire against the Cuban Revolution is to conspire against their own interests and against their own people. The governments of Latin America must understand that to the same extent they help the imperialists against Cuba they dig their own grave, and that the day that the Cuban Revolution ceases to exist, the imperialists' fear ends. And then, goodby to the few pennies they are now sending down for the construction of a road, a school, or a hospital — because in that case no one is going to receive even a few pennies, nor are they going to have any hope of getting better prices for their products.

The existence of the Cuban Revolution, frightening the imperialists, has been one of the most beneficial factors for the nations of Latin America, even if no revolution has taken place there.

That is why it is foolish to play the game of the imperialists. Several governments in Latin America that are intelligent, that follow a policy more in line with the sentiments of their people, have maintained a position of resistance and firmness against imperialist pressures. They have not adopted the position of those puppet and servile governments which do nothing but obey orders from Washington. These governments that the imperialists overthrow every once in a while — they throw out one and put another one in three minutes later — what has happened to them all? Ydigoras, Villeda Morales, Frondizi — you even lose count of them....

(Someone in the crowd shouts 'Betancourt').... He is a political corpse, the person you mentioned there. But that is a problem for the Venezuelan people, not for us. But we know that the people of Venezuela are heroic, fighting and persevering. Why are the Venezuelan people rebelling against the imperialists? Because they are being plundered, because Venezuela could be the richest country in the world with the highest standard of living for the people, because of the oil deposits it has. Who is depriving them of all that? The imperialists, the military caste, grafting politicians, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the land owners, the merchants, the large merchants in the country. That is the reason for the rebellion of the Venezuelan people.

But the Venezuelan people have the right to make their Revolution. We have no right to intervene in their internal affairs. But neither have the imperialists the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Venezuela and send weapons to Venezuela to murder Venezuelan patriots.

We have no right to send arms to Guatemala or to any other country. But the imperialists have no right to be sending arms and to do what they are doing in countries like Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have no right of any kind to carry out acts violating the sovereignty of other countries. We can live in perfect and absolute peace with any country or government in Latin America, and even with the United States, regardless of the social system existing in those countries, on the basis of a policy of principles, of unlimited respect for the sovereignty of all countries, if every country does the same.

Will Pay, if They Trade

The imperialists say that we nationalized their enterprises, and what worries them is not that they were nationalized — more than one U.S. enterprise is being nationalized here and there. What they are worried about is the payment for them. Well, if that is worrying them, we are ready to pay them, but if they want us to pay them, let them trade with us; but they must not get the idea that we are begging them to trade with us. We have stated that we are ready to pay indemnity on a certain basis — if commercial relations are normalized with us. But they are mistaken if they think that we can't live unless they are normalized. If they do not want to establish normal relations, that is up to them. But in that case we will never pay them even half a cent for all those enterprises.

And we will continue to live happily here. If need be, our grandsons will discuss it with the grandsons of the present leaders, the present U.S. generation. We are in no hurry.

I am going to tell you what l said to a French newspaperman: We are revolutionaries. We are not worried over risk and danger. We revolutionaries by temperament prefer a life of risk to a tranquil life without problems. We defend the policy of peace because it is a question of principle, because peace is the just aspiration of all humanity. We defend it. on principle, and because it concerns all humanity.

Our revolutionary temperament feels quite at ease in the turbulent waters of agitated situations, if the imperialists want to maintain this situation indefinitely. We swim beautifully in those waters because they are the waters in which a revolutionary feels at home. And we have come to power because we have a revolutionary temperament, and we are conducting the revolution because we have a revolutionary vocation and temperament.

Answer Blow for Blow

We haven't lost our temperament on coming to power. We haven't lost it after five years in power; nor are we meek. The imperialists needn't think that we are going to fold our arms while they are committing all kinds of brutalities against us. We are going to try to answer, blow for blow. And the imperialists should know that whatever harm they try to do us, we will try to do them.

However, we are not to blame for this situation. We are not to blame for this policy. It

is they who have followed this policy against our country. It is they who have maintained a proud, arrogant and high-handed policy with respect to Cuba; an inglorious policy, a defeated policy, a pyrrhic policy, a ridiculous policy that has led them to one defeat after the other. And the more harm they have tried to do us, the more has been the merit of this Revolution, and the more glory and prestige this Revolution will have in the eyes of the present and future generations. Beg them to trade with us? No! Beg them to re-establish diplomatic relations? No!

I told that newspaperman that for reasons of principle we are interested only in peace. Let them forget about us and we will forget about them. We do not need their trade now in order to live, because they compelled us to look for other markets, because today we have the stable and inexhaustible market of the socialist camp. Our country has no problems in the future; it has unlimited markets for its staple products, it has received unlimited aid from the Soviet Union and from all other socialist countries in these difficult years. We shall be grateful forever for this aid. On the basis of this proof, these innumerable proofs we have received, we have built indestructible bonds of friendship between our revolutionary nations.

I said to the French newsman: We prefer that the U.S. government be represented by a Swiss Ambassador, because he represents them well; he is not spying around, and he hasn't two hundred spies in the Embassy, and the U.S. Embassy would give a terrible headache to anybody. And I said to him: This is an austere country where vice is being eradicated. There aren't gambling dens here any more. Prostitution is disappearing. The vice centers, where many U.S. tourists went, no longer exist. The tourist business could be a source of income representing 50 million or 100 million dollars. But do you know what it would mean to us to see them again, with loud shirts, drunk on the streets, looking for brothels, looking for gambling joints? That aid does not interest us; with our work we can create a hundred million dollars and much more than that, without the necessity of enduring those humiliations.

And I heartily say this, the best thing would be for them to forget us and us forget them and not see each other in twenty years. The only thing that we are really interested in, because it is a question of principle, is peace. Let them leave us in peace. We do not need them, fortunately, and this is our good luck; it is our good luck to be able to say that we do not need them at all, that we do not need their trade or their relations.

If they want to trade we will trade. We won't refuse. If they want to establish relations — they would really give us a lot of headaches — but we would be willing to establish relations. But, truly, our fundamental interests do not lie here. So, they have no need to place conditions on any aid to us. We have never asked them for aid at any time, and we will never ask them for aid — **Never**!

If we know how to help ourselves, if we can help ourselves by working, studying, applying technology, improving organization, what need have we for such spurious aid? What need have we for such blackmailing aid? One day we may be trading with Guiana and then they might say: "If you trade with Guiana we will take away the five dollars we

are giving you." We would then face an embarrassing situation, and we would have to tell them, "Aren't we free? What is the matter with us?" It is intolerable for a country to be told this.

And wherever the United States takes its aid they follow it up with blackmail and press their conditions even further. We are really happy not to have it. Are we not? *(The people answer "Yes!")* I do not think it is just my personal feeling; that is how all our people feel. We are very happy, very satisfied with what we can do. Our soil is rich. Our people are intelligent and enthusiastic. Our citizens are becoming more and more skilled. We have friends. Our future is good. What do we care about the imperialists? We don't need the imperialists, and we feel very fortunate not to need them.

We are ready for any peaceful solution. We are ready to live in peace with all peoples of the world. We will never spare our efforts in the struggle for peace. But let the imperialists know— since they sometimes believe we are drowning and want to be pulled out of the well — that it is not we, but they who are in the well. And just let them see that we are better off than they are, that while this year we have more foreign exchange than last year, they have less.

And they have a million problems that we have already solved. We can advance with a planned economy that develops vigorously. We can build the future we want.

That's what should encourage us and make us happier on this fifth anniversary. We have ahead of us a future that is ours, because we have earned tie right to the future. And that right we defend with the weapons that were on parade here and with the people that followed behind the weapons.

The Revolution is solid, firm. It is consolidated; it is no longer the product of enthusiasm only. It is the product of consciousness, of understanding, of the experience that a whole people has been acquiring.

The Cuban Revolution can not possibly turn back. The Cuban Revolution is indestructible. To destroy it, it would be necessary to destroy a whole people! And a whole people cannot be destroyed with impunity today.

The Cuban Revolution marches forward. It has arisen at a moment in the history of mankind when the peoples are freeing themselves. It has arisen in one of the most glorious and promising moments for the peoples, for mankind, when the peoples that were subjugated for centuries in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, have realized that they have the right and, above all, that they have the opportunity, to be independent, to be free, to cease being vassals of the exploiters.

At this moment the Cuban Revolution arose — the Revolution that gave our country a name, that made it known in every corner of the world where many thought we were an appendix of Florida, one more little key in the chain of keys located south of the United States. It is the Revolution that has stirred the hopes and encouraged hundreds of millions

of oppressed people, that has won friends in all parts of the world, stirred emotions and sympathy. It is the Revolution that has kept the imperialists awake, that has served as an example for the exploited as well as for the exploiters. This is our Revolution, the Revolution that today celebrated its fifth anniversary as it will celebrate its fiftieth and its one hundredth anniversaries.

It will be a beacon, a torch in the history of our country. It will be an inspiration for coming generations, a beginning for our country. For other generations will receive this inspiration, this strength and this tradition, and bur country will continue to advance.

Every generation will do its part, and the part of every generation will be brilliant. We have seen how the present Soviet generation has been able to conquer outer space, has carried out great feats in science and technology, while to the previous generation fell the glory of the Revolution, of laying the basis for the present possibilities.

What will future generations do? What will the descendants of the Cubans of today do?

Perhaps our imagination cannot stretch so far. But we are quite aware that we are preparing the road to that future, that we are working for that future, and that, along that road, that path which we are building with our sweat, our blood, our enthusiasm, will march the future generations of our country.

That is why, today, on the celebration of this fifth anniversary, we congratulate the people. We congratulate the people on this occasion, on this anniversary.

For by chance, the New Year, the new life and the New Revolution arrived together in the world and are together on the calendar.

Our gratitude to all those who have visited us, to all those who have joined in the enthusiasm of our people during these days.

Our best wishes to the people, our greetings, our wish that we may all march along that road, and our conviction that it will be so.

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WORKERS Vanguard #95- Mar. 1964

GOVERNOR-GENERAL VANIER seeing the first contingent of Canadian troops board plane for Cyprus. Proclaimed by the Pearson government as "peacemakers", the Van Doos are being sent to Cyprus to preserve the unity of the NATO military alliance, and sustain the undemocratic constitution imposed on the Cypriots by British imperialism.

Cdn Students to Form Peace Corps Heading for Cuba

At least 24 English and French-speaking university students will go to Cuba this summer. Applications are being received for this volunteer force which will constitute itself as a work camp to help repair damage wreaked by Hurricane Flora last fall and promote good will between Canadian and Cuban peoples.

A committee composed of six persons prominent in the academic world and three representatives of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee will make the selection from among the applicants. The six are Professor W. J. McCurdy of the University of Toronto Department of Philosophy, Professor U. Leo of the U of T Department of Italian and Hispanic studies, Reverend W. Whitla of York University Department of Humanities and English, Reverend R. E. Carter, U of T instructor of Philosophy, Mrs. R. G. Riddell, U of T Overseas Students Advisor and R. de Marsh, general secretary of the Students Christian Movement. They will be advised by a Quebec committee constituted by Michel Chartrand, head of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec, and professors of the Université de Montreal.

The student corps is being organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The Cuban government is making space available on its boats calling at Montreal for the accommodation of 24 students who will leave in June and July, spend six weeks in Cuba, and return in time for the fall term.

The Cuban government has been advised that the students are anxious to work without pay on a project which they could hope to complete during their stay and which would remain as a lasting symbol of their friendship.

The students will constitute a genuine "peace corps". They will not, like the Van Doos sent by Ottawa to Cyprus, arrive with guns to uphold a vicious constitution imposed by an imperialist overlord. There is no possibility that they will be ousted as members of Washington's "Peace Corps" were last year by authorities of the council of the University of Ayacucho, as "agents of imperialism".

They will be joyously welcomed by the Cubans who will be inspired by their aid and will be anxious to have them see at first hand their various achievements. A big success in this project could lead to a much more extensive corps next year and possibly similar ones going to Algeria and China.

REPORT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS

At this time of the year the financial columns in the daily press are full of accounts of meetings where executives and directors of various corporations make their reports to the stockholders. Anxious to measure up to its responsibilities in this respect The Workers Vanguard Publishing Association has decided to make its annual report. Usually such reports deal with decisions to allocate funds to buy out some competitor, to split the profits, to announce changes in the board of directors, to plant some rumours, to affirm or deny others that are current.

In many of these areas we have no comment. For one thing we are a non-profit organization. But there is a rumour about the Vanguard that for the past year has been persistently circulating in Ontario NDP circles and we might use this ocassion to comment on it. The rumour is that the Vanguard is financed out of the pocket of the editor who it is alleged owns a considerable number of shares in the King C. Gillette company. What this "tip" does to our stock in circles that promote such a rumour we do not know. We do know that there is no truth in it and that the only financial associations we have, our sole source of revenue is you —our readers.

We have decided to report on our handling of the $3,217.15 loan that you Vanguard readers gave us last year following our appeal for funds. We consider it a loan, that it will be repaid, because it was made entirely upon the promises of the future—that we will have a socialist Canada.

Immediately after a wide group of readers of previous issues of the Vanguard had donated the $3,217 we expanded the paper by publishing a special one page insert of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's speech to the Congress of Women. Not content with this we reproduced it as a pamphlet, the only edition that it appeared in for 8 to 9 months and which won international circulation .We closed off the year with our last issue appearing as an eight-pager, reproducing in toto Castro's January 2nd fifth anniversary speech.

We translated and published the program of the Algerian Revolution, The Tripoli Program. To our knowledge, to this day, it is the only English language edition of this pivotal document. We also published, along with two other pamphlets, **The Labor Party in America**—the stenogram of a series of discussions that the famous socialist Leon Trotsky held with a number of American socialists on problems of a mass labor party formation on this continent.

Hardly had we got the donations into our hands and cleaned up some back debts than the federal election came upon us. We moved out boldly to bring the issues of nuclear arms and public ownership to the fore in our support of the NDP. We increased our press run eight-fold and went to press on a ten day schedule so that rather than merely play the limited role of comentator we could participate in the election debate as it developed.

In the summer we launched the Vanguard Trailblazer tour that this time headed into Quebec and the Maritimes. With the language problem and the sparce population, the expenses were heavy but our four campaigners introduced a great quantity of literature into many areas where there had been no serious work for socialism done for decades.

When government trusteeship loomed over the Great Lakes we hit out in strong opposition. Much of this material was later published in leaflet form and circulated on a mass scale throughout southern Ontario.

With the rise of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec our paper takes on an added significance as the only source of information for the English reading working class. The Vanguard is the primary Canadian source for authentic material on the Algerian struggle and on the Cuban Revolution. We have given thorough coverage to the developments of the BC left which we are glad to note is now putting out its own bulletin.

This is a partial list of what was done with the funds that you and others like you entrusted us with last year. This year we are out to rasie $4,000. Invest in the future of Canada and human society by making your donation now and helping us go over the top! Send it to **The Vanguard**, 81 Queen St. W., Toronto.

Students & Labor

WORKERS
Vanguard

Price 10 Cents 23 Vol. 8 (No. 12) (96) Mid-April, 1964

Sask. CCF Loses With No Program Campaign

By Special Correspondent

REGINA — North America's only farmer-labor government has been defeated. After twenty years in office, which saw it enact the most advanced social legislation on the continent, the CCF has been turned out. The Big Business Liberal Party has taken over in Saskatchewan. With the advance poll not yet counted the results are: Liberals, 33 seats; CCF (NDP), 25; Progressive Conservatives, 1. The CCF won 14 out of twenty urban seats, gaining one from the Liberals, losing another, and winning two new urban seats. The Liberals won twenty-seven out of the 39 rural seats, gaining 13 from the CCF and picking up two new urban seats.

The fact that the CCF held on to the urban ridings, and maintained the percentage of the popular vote it had in 1960—40.8 per cent that year—that it got a larger popular vote than the Liberals —40.6 per cent compared to 40.1 —and even the fact that in ten seats the margin between victory and defeat was less than one hundred votes, doesn't alter the situation. The CCF has been defeated—it has lost political office.

How to explain this body blow to the development of a mass labor party in this country? The NDP leadership cannot give organizational or financial excuses for the defeat. On the very eve of the election the party boasted that its membership in Saskatchewan was 33,000, larger than even the former peak of 1945.

(See Page 4 — Defeat)

Large newspaper ads were purchased — as many as three and four half pages in one issue. The provincial office at the same time distributed more than twenty separate pieces of printed literature to the ridings—including a 48 page budget speech, two tabloid size leaflets, a series of eight "fact sheets", on Saskatchewan, and a four page excerpt from the Financial Post.

The defeat cannot be attributed to the conservatism of farmers, even though it is true that their disproportionately large voice in the legislature was the vehicle on which the Liberals returned to power. The history of the Saskatchewan farmer is a history of struggle against monopoly capitalism. The support farmers still give the co-operative distributing, processing, and marketing agencies — bigger than in any other province and than at any time in the past — shows that the farmer today is not much less concerned with liberating himself from the domination of big business than he was in the past.

The sad truth of the matter is—the CCF leadership placed the party rank and file in the position of fighting a "no issue" campaign. That is just how NDP leader T. C. Douglas explained this election to some 650 fund raising banquetters here, as the drive went into high gear. "It is a quiet election," he said, "because there are really no issues at stake. The other political parties have adopted all the CCF programs and have come out with a 'me too' platform. The real issue then", he emphasized, "is who can you trust to carry out the programs promised."

On the last weekend before the election, the NDP ran ads in all the daily papers across the province showing a picture of not less than twelve Liberal leader Ross Thatchers kicking the door of the Legislative Building during the Medicare crisis. The ad said, "Remember this display of temperament?" "Can you imagine a government consisting of this type of person?" "RIDICULOUS ISN'T IT?" As if the medicare struggle was a struggle against the person of Ross Thatcher! As if the issue in the election was to prevent "temperamental people" from getting into office!

A second ad in the same issue

→p. 2

Defeat of CCF in Sask. Election Result of Leaders' False Policies

(Continued From Page One)

of the papers was no better. It was a half page with a large picture of CCF Premier W. S. Lloyd, and in large type the slogan "Stand Firm, Stand Tall for Sound Leadership." This slogan, which surely could have been aimed only at ex-Texas ranchers and oil millionaires, was augmented with quotes from the capitalist Winnipeg Free Press and the Canadian Weekly which both said that the CCF premier showed in the Medicare crisis that he does not "flap".

Astounding as it may seem the NDP leadership presented no program for the next term of office — they projected no proposals of any kind to the electorate. The Liberals took advantage of the NDP's abdication of responsibility and promised among other things, an extension of Medicare "to cover major drug costs," reduction of "the retail sales tax immediately" from the present 5% "to 4%" and for the improvement of "workers' wages, vacations, hours of work, compensation and trade union rights and security." Party campaigners were in the weak position of having to label all this as so much demagogy. The official line was that it was "irresponsible" on the part of the Liberals.

Thatcher got mileage out of his charge that the CCF had lost its dynamism. On the other side, the NDP's publication and circulation of four pages from the big-business Financial Post lauding the "good atmosphere for business" in Saskatchewan only served to further obliterate any significant, any class, differences between the two parties in the minds of less politically conscious workers and farmers.

The main leaflet of the CCF during the campaign, and speaker after speaker at election rallies, quoted bank managers, oil company presidents, and chemical company executives who applauded "the close collaboration" "the healthy atmosphere" and "the incentives" given them by the CCF.

Thus on the one hand the electorate were offered the choice of a CCF party that defended itself by declaring that it was not opposed to capitalism and in fact was getting along better and better with it and could provide proof; and the Liberal Party, a party that is firmly recognized, and requires no proof whatsoever, that it is a party which has the complete confidence of the Big Business interests.

This narrowing of choice for the electorate between the CCF and the Big Business parties did not first see the light of day with this election campaign. It has been a process that has been developing ever more rapidly in recent years. During the last legislative session, in a cynical opportunist bid for the most conservative vote, the CCF parliamentary caucus presented and passed a bill that allowed for the support of Catholic high schools for the first time in the history of the province out of general tax revenues. It backed down in the struggle against the medical-insurance hierarchy and its allies in 1961. Its partial capitulation here and its hesitancy in the community clinics' doctor's struggle for hospital privileges made the government seem unsure of itself and in fact of the Medicare program itself.

Although a terrible blow, the Saskatchewan defeat was not a defeat for farmer-labor politics, but a defeat for opportunism, for liberal-reformism. It was the defeat of a government which oriented itself above all to win the support of or neutralize big business, which tried to play down class differences, which was divorced from the workers and farmers.

The NDP must be rebuilt, not with the view from the never-never land of attracting "all reasonable people" or on the basis of labor-management co-operation, but on the foundations of farmer-worker cooperation, on the planned and publicly owned development of the province, by the people, for the people, not for the profits of big business.

NEED LAST SPURT TO GO OVER TOP

The May 1st deadline to accumulate the $4,500 necessary to keep the Vanguard rolling off the presses looms just ahead. If you haven't sent in your contribution, do so at once. And if you have, and can spare a bit more it will be a big help. As we go to press $3,012 has been contributed. The most phenomenal contributions so far are those that keep coming in from Alberta —temporarily setting our campaign workers back on their heels then throwing them into action with renewed vigor. Alberta has moved out of the general into a place of its own with $513 to its credit. It is going to be tough but we can make our objective with your contribution addressed to The Workers Vanguard Publishing Association, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.

WORKERS Vanguard

#96 Apr. 1964

BLACK NATIONALISM & U.S. NEGRO REVOL

By John Morgan

What is the significance of the Black Muslim movement in the fast deepening Negro Revolution in the United States? How should this current in the Negro's drive to abolish his second class citizen status be evaluated? What is behind Malcolm X's break with Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad?

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for the presidency of the United States, Clifton DeBerry, has lauded Malcolm X's statements that he will actively support the civil rights struggle including political action, and his affirmation of the right and duty of Negroes to defend themselves against racist violence. DeBerry has declared that he is "confident that Malcolm X's stand will add new power to the drive for Freedom Now."

The United States weekly **Militant** which reports on the Negro struggle in detail, analyzes and evaluates trends, and projects the socialist viewpoint, comments this way on the Black Muslims; Its nationalism is of a unique type; inherent in the form of the separatism that it advocates is a content not so much of establishment of an actual state apart in the U.S. or Africa, but a total reaction against the tyranny of the "white power structure" of a potentially revolutionary character. Precisely the problem of how to achieve independence in white-dominated society for a scattered minority has led to the internal disputes which culminated in Malcolm X's break.

In a review of the pamphlet **Freedom Now; New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation,** a resolution adopted by the 1963 SWP national convention, the April 20 **Militant** discusses the fundamental source of the nationalist movement. "Capitalism segregates the Negroes, confines the Negroes, confines them in ghettoes, builds walls around them and binds them together in common resentment against racial discrimination, proscription, deprivation and abuse . . . (Nationalism) is an outgrowth of these conditions, a reaction against them, a way of resisting them and fighting them."

But towards what direction does this nationalist protest tend? The article points out: "The urge to tear loose and separate from the social fabric of U.S. capitalism is not far removed from the urge, under different forms, to abolish that system in revolutionary struggle."

Also important, the sentiment for separation is weaker than nationalist feeling, which consists of the demand for "the right to decide their destiny, and to create an independent movement and other conditions that will make it possible for them to decide their destiny. But so far they have not made a choice in favor of a separate nation . . . They leave open the question of separatism for a future stage . . ."

The article points out that this nationalism, which meets the need to bring "an oppressed minority without a clearly defined geographical, language or cultural basis" together into a cohesive force, is essentially "a method of differentiating a racially oppressed minority from its oppressors and of uniting it ideologically and organizationally to free itself from oppression. Negro nationalism plays a function for the Negro people here in many ways like that which class consciousness plays for the working class."

The origin and importance of differences leading to Malcolm X's break from the Muslims are explained in two articles by George Breitman (**Militant** Mar. 30 and Apr. 6). The author answers criticisms of the Muslims that they are a rigid, authoritarian organization. He shows how their paper changed from sharp comments to a tone of sympathy on occasion toward integrationist leaders, how in early 1963 Muhammad endorsed the idea of independent black (not just Muslim) political action. However, the Muslim leadership's evolution was too slow. Against the pressure from other currents to join in their actions, "Muhammad continued to insist that mass action against discrimination is incompatible with the goal of separation." "But", as Breitman (and Malcolm X) pointed out, "it isn't necessarily so, according to logic. And some Muslims under the impact of the current Negro upsurge, were becoming unhappy or dubious about a policy of abstention that would keep them cut off from large numbers of their militant non-Muslim brothers."

Breitman points out other differences: whereas Muhammad stand on Negro self-defence abstract, Malcolm X calls for t formation of "Rifle Clubs" no where necessary to stem raci attacks, especially where feder and state authorities fail to pr tect them.

But where Malcolm X ha aroused the hatred and eve slander of black and white "li erals" is his rejection of bo capitalist parties as hopeless biased and his support of th Freedow Now Party. His stand Negro unity is an integral part his support for a Negro part "There can be no black-whi unity until there is some blac unity." But he goes furth "There can be no workers' sol darity until there is first son racial solidarity." Thus Malcol X differs from other nationalist in rejecting the idea that wor ing-class solidarity is impossib or unnecessary.

But why support a moveme **before** it unites with the labo movement and helps launch labor party which can pose th real alternative? Breitman a swers that there is a preconditio for such a uniting of forces take place: ". . . a meaningf and mutually beneficial labo Negro alliance will not be forge until the Negro people are orga ized independently and strong enough, numerically and ide logically, to assure that their i terests can't be subordinated sold out by the other partner partners in any alliance". A of the currents presently on th scene, Malcolm X's movement in his view the most likely become the mass, militant leade ship that the Negro in the U needs.

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WORKERS VANGUARD
81 Queen St. W., Toronto

Name .....

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81 Queen Street West
Toronto
May 8, 1964

Montreal

Dear Bob and Edith

Glad to hear from you although I am sorry that it is from Montreal.

Vern O was telling me to expect you--Debbie is here on her holidays and she told him that it looked like there was no stopping it. I hope you had the pleasure of meeting E. Mandel during your last days there....and that you managed to tell our friend Brian that he should get back here

I suppose you must have missed Al Purdy, Dorothy Steeves and a York University Spanish ~~xx~~ instructor who left for Cuba to be there on time for the May celebration.

Looking forward to seeing you again first opportunity you have to head this way. Plan to stay a while. Perhaps you could bring Bob or Dick along with you. It is a long time since we have seen them.

warmest regards

Ross

I will re-address your papers to your Montreal address as above until you tell me to do otherwise.

WORKERS Vanguard

#97 May 1964

Time to Demark Ourselves, says Steel Leader

NDP MUST BE LABOR PARTY

It's necessary to make the NDP a real working class party, and not be overly concerned with creating a favorable image. The role of the organized labor movement at the time of the party's founding was toned down too much. We should have played a more decisive role—not dabbled around on this question. It is high time we started to break a few eggs and began to take the lead in shaping party policy and organizing it. Unionists have to run as the party's candidates, be more aggressive and not leave the "intellectuals", the doctors, ministers, lawyers and teachers to do so—those who play a parasitic role—who live on the backs of the workers, and who are the source of the dangerous tendencies towards merger with the Liberals.

Unless labor takes over a merger of the NDP with the Liberals is a serious possibility. The NDP must be a labor-oriented party with a program oriented to the working people. We must run labor candidates in municipal elections and block any idea of supporting either Liberals or Tories. The NDP will go down the drain unless we develop it "in our own image."

So said Bert Gargraves, district representative of the United Steelworkers (CLC-CIO), to a meeting of union political education committee members organized by the Toronto and District Labor Council on May 25.

This strong, militant, class viewpoint, a complete reversal of their entire previous line, was carried by all three panelists on the evening following the Exchange for Political Ideas in Canada (EPIC) conference at the U of T campus.

OFL political education director Morden Lazarus, who with George Home was the other panelist, emphasized for any who had doubts, the essential role of the union movement in the NDP as things now stand. Without union participation, he said, there would be no NDP in Ontario. Between June '62 and June '63, despite three defeats for the NDP, union members supporting the party rose from 43,500 to 48,000.

Home, possibly sensitive to the defeat in Saskatchewan, stated he was disturbed by a certain defeatism in the party. Although along with the rest of the top CLC he has been decrying the class struggle and promoting labor-management committees across the country, he now emphasized that "there is still a class struggle in Canada."

Ringing more like a new confession of faith than an appeal to the audience of NDP union activists, Home ended up—"Have confidence in the working class and they won't let you down. Be honest with the workers and they will come through."

Several delegates from the floor attacked the party's official monthly organ, **The New Democrat**, as totally uninteresting to workers. One commented that it doesn't help attract unionists to the party when everytime anyone with new ideas is attacked as a "Communist or Trotskyist."

ALGERIAN WOMAN SEEKS CDN. HELP

The first Algerian parliamentary delegation to come to this continent visited Montreal briefly over the last May weekend. A major aim of the delegation of five was to obtain aid for the 180,000 children orphaned in the process of the 7 year long Algerian freedom struggle. Among the delegates was Fatima Khemisti who lost her first husband in the revolution in which she herself participated. Her second husband, Foreign Minister Mohammed Khemsti, was assassinated last year.

Mrs. Khemisti reported there was warm interest in the three U.S. cities they visited. In reply to queries she stated that Algeria was developing a socialism of a special type, and held strong fraternal feelings for the Cuban Revolution. The revolution in Algeria has been a decisive phase in the development of women's rights, she said.

L'Association d'Aide et de Solidarité Quebec-Algerie—a Quebec committee which seeks to aid Algeria by circulating information on its struggles and by obtaining technicians who are direly needed there—has just released an interesting letter which it has received from a Canadian now living in Algeria. Copies of this letter can be obtained by writing to Case Postale 99, Succursale N, Montreal.

BC NDP Socialist Caucus Protests Youth Expulsions

By E. Tate

VANCOUVER—A new wave of opposition is building up against the latest move of the BC NDP leadership to highhandedly expel opposition forces to its policies from the party. After sitting on the charges for almost a year the provincial executive has now decided to kick out of the NDP itself, the eleven activists who had been previously expelled from the youth movement by the NDY leadership. Many are shocked that the revival of the witch hunt against the socialists should come at a time when the leadership is complaining about the apathy of the membership and threatening, because of lack of funds, to close down the headquarters, and to even liquidate the party itself.

There has been an immediate reaction from within the party. Vancouver Center constituency at its last meeting heard strong criticisms of the executive's actions and it was agreed that a special meeting would be held to discuss the matter. Point Grey unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the executive to pull back. It urged a rescinding of the original expulsions from the youth movement.

At its last meeting the BC Socialist Caucus devoted the entire agenda to discussing the latest witch hunt. The caucus was organized just over a year ago with the support of such prominent NDPers as Dorothy Steeves, Cedric Cox, Bert Herridge M.P., and others. It was agreed that the following issue of the **Bulletin** would deal exclusively with the expulsions and a special collection of $44 was raised to cover the cost of mailing the paper to 2,000 members of the party.

The latest actions are the culmination of a two year campaign of the right wing of the NDY. After having witch hunted the eleven youth out of the NDY, the executive then pressed for their expulsion from the party itself.

The charges were laid over a year ago. Last July the provincial executive set up a "trial committee" to hear evidence. The committee met for one evening last July, took testimony from one prosecution witness, and then adjourned. The defense of the expelled was not presented as there was insufficient time and it was stated then by the "trial committee" that the hearing would be resumed. It never was. The party bureaucracy saw that a little democracy, warped as it was, was too much. Many assumed because of the long silence and inaction for almost a year, that the executive was letting the matter drop. But it seems that once caught up in the logic of its own ridiculous actions the party leadership could not retreat.

In a statement issued to the membership, explaining why they are being expelled, the eleven youth point out that the reason for the move against them is "not because we are disloyal, but because we have consistently opposed their policy of purging all inklings to socialism from the party's program." They call for a reassessment of the party's program and claim that "the Saskatchewan defeat again demonstrated the bankruptcy of the so-called 'liberal-minded' leadership and their program."

They point out that the expulsions are part and parcel of the organizational policy that has led to the declared financial crisis and the decline in membership in the party. "Rather than accept the lessons of defeat," they say, "the party leadership prefers to revive the witch hunt against the left, and to eliminate any socialist alternative to their program."

The expelled youth appeal to the members of the party to intervene and call a halt to the witch hunt. "We intend to fight for our right—and the right of all socialists—to membership and political rights in the party," the eleven youth state.

A petition is being circulated within the movement urging the executive to grant the expelled a fair trial in accordance with the constitution.

Peace Corps

The response of students from university campuses across the country to join the Peace Corps headed for Cuba has been so great that almost double the number originally contemplated will participate. Among those already chosen, to make up a total of 45 who will leave July 3 for Havana, are students representing 15 campuses in 8 provinces. Many are top students active in a wide variety of campus organizations. The aim of the corps, which is being organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, is to work on projects alongside of Cubans and thereby create a bond of friendship and understanding, and to provide the students an opportunity to assess developments in Cuba.

COPY

June 20, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick;

this weekend

I tossed everything aside and wrote a letter to Reg, very long over due and in reply to a rare one from him; a letter to Alan in reply to his of May 25 and a couple since; a letter to Ernie which had to go ou as I barged into his personal relations with Ruth a few days ago;and a letter to Joe H who I havent written to for possibly a month and whc has been sending along item after item on world developments. It is ha to account for my time of the last week or two but of course we got th Dynamicsof World Revolution off and tomorrow morning I finish with the cover of the Fair Play pamphlet, the insides are already printed

I am really sorry about that letter of greetings to the Montreal baby. I kept procratinating then along came your caustic comment driving me into action. Of course it was in order

And how do you like the cover of Dynamics. It gives me the feelin of something by Wagner-- a surging but constrained, directed vitality. At first I was a little uneasy about the blurb on Suslov, using his statement that way however now that I have put it aside and then read it again I think it is not bad at all. And if it aids in the sales it will be well justified. That was cuatious reasoning given by the Vanguard Publishing Association for publishing the document

Chartrand never did send the photo along. We delayed and delayed but finally ended up going to the Globe and Mail where we obtained a one column cut. Killed my idea for thecover , had to redesigns it It is adequate but nothing special.It is hard to believe that he has just forgotten to send it along when so many people were assured that it would be along. And did he make the press release formally calling of the Pan "merican conference? He told Vern he would last week. I have written Paris and Havana who were pressing for certa actions predicated on its coming off that it has been cancelled.

Well the tour is now well underway. The seminar came off well this Saturday. Over a dozen students came in-ons from Ottawa and another fr Montreal. The ambassador attended as did Prof McCurdy who went out of his wayto express his satisfaction with the handling of the whol thing. John R was there and was impressed by the students. The garden party held that evening was also a big success. I stayed down here typ away but Mel Johnson along with Norman Endicott and one ot two others prominently identified with the Canada-Cuba outfit were there. It woul appear that this committee has gone. I think you are aware that Johnso who was their chariman has joined FPCC. We will have five of the 45-- Jacky Henderson is going and of course Ruth T too. Now we are going to be in a rush to get the bulletin out with a few poems by Purd an article by Mrs Guilds who has joined the committee upon her return and an extensive report on the many meetings that Steeves has been addressing. Ernie says that she has been doing a terrific job--just as inspired as Cox but many times more sophisticated and articulate.

It was good to read the clippings on the unfurling of the FPCC banner in Montreal. I managed to write a letter to the Silverman's and a note to Bob on it. I asked the Silverman's to get us the matrix of t phto and to be sure to get copies so they could be sent on to Cuba

COPY

Brown would probably like to circulate them around the Canadian-American community to counteract the work of the Stalinists. My note to Bob suggested that a second demonstration really served no purpose unless we had decided to challenge the police in the courts, had bail ready, a lawyer and had decided to allocate the necessary time to such a project in the conviction that the case was a good one and we had possibilities of winning wider support. But I was probably toolate to influence anything.

Yes, I was sure that we would be having all kinds of discussions on all sorts of matters which are very basic. Bob made very many comments while her Bob S that is, that [illegible] showed that he has no real understanding of the working class movement. He i still carrying much of the baggage of his coffee house radical days around with him. We must find some way of getting him into the working class. I am syre his romantic concepts were in part affirmed by the workers who he taugh while in Cuba--after all they have come through a great revolutionary exper- ience. What is he doing for a living? He was talking about hacking but what he needs isa good experience in a shop amongst workers who have a bunch of kids, who are up to their necks in debt, and who have been hardened by the old capitalist squeeze play. His tendency will be to drfit around radical intellectual circles, huamnist, when what he needs is a little experience in the routine of the class struggle. Bob H should be of great help in straightening up Bob S. The former had many of the characteristics of the latter when I first met him but he was very serious, he read and of course he pushed and shoved his way into the ranks of the working class. The genera climate in Quebec would suggest to me that we are going to attract other persons with the same disease so we should practice the art of medication. In fact if we do not learn it well there is a distinct danger that we can get involved in some bad and completely unnecessary experiences

Congratualtion on your school results. So everyone did well. Bob got his tuition for next year. Art of course has switched to Toronto but also did well. Glen made it. Havent heard about Krean [illegible] John R. or Bill L but my impression is that the doubtful person wes Glenn. Oh Yes Hans made it --told me rather shamefacedly--probably got one second in the mess of firsts.

You know of course that Gustavo is heading this way. A couple of us had a little time for the last couple of days and we are preparing a big parcel for him to take back with him for you. I have decided to send you all the back issues of Quatrieme International. The file looks to me to be in quite good shape and in glancing over it I have concluded that aside from [illegible] excellent material on the whole range of our ideas which will be invaluable for the education of French-Canadians who we are going to recruit there are some excellent items that might be published in La Lutte Ouvriere from time to time. And of course the beauty is that they have been translate into good French--short timeless theoretical jems by the old man, Zinoviev Lenin, Luxemburg etc. We are also in a position to what must be very close to a coplete file of the SWP internal bulletins. It is already possibly more than he can take back on his ticket.

Well I didn't tell you anything so I am hoping that you take it as not having told you of any objections to receiving any moment now an article on the RIN congress. There were a couple of items in the G&M on the congress But I havent sent them along as I am sure they will be of little aid to you. Yes I think it is a good idea to give our readers a picture of this aspect o of them Quebec politics and our analysis of it. Really we should have a dis- cussion on it. Perhaps it could be the subject of a discussion in the branch. I find such experiences worthwhile regardless of what my thoughts are as to the general competence of the comrades on the subject. Of course it is nec- essary to give them your ideas but I am continually suprised to see what value there is in such discussion

COPY

But I am holding you to the round-up an and appreciation of the various journals next month or if anything more important barges in the following month. Yes, once you get La Lutte underway, which will be quite a job in itself I cen see no need at all for you to write up articles for the Vanguard. It will be all the better that we can inscribe across the articlextx that we have taken it from the Quebec periodical of revolutionary socialism

I am sorry that I am unable to keep you in touch with all that is going on. Of course my failure here has nothing at all to do with the circumstances around your last visit here. In your PS they follow on one another. I am sure our relations are not in anyway governed by such little matters as a temper-outburst of temper. I know that they are not on my part and never will be How could we hope to build a serious movement if it were so. And tha that certainly in not only our intention but our complete confidence I hope that I have never demonstrated otherwise to any comrade, and no not to you. I not only immediately forgave like a god what I must have felt was your responsibility but I also forgot, and you can be sure if I had even thought that you were not well as you suggest I would not have even noticed anything. We are going to be with one another a long time. And I personally look to you to play a big role. I have always attempted to see eahc of us in our totality. And have tried to generate this atmosphere in the movement. This may unfortunately create an atmosphere of detachment--a depersonalized atmosphere. A problem. I seem to recall an anecdote about Lenin. I think it was about his reaction to the Appasionata Sonata. He said something to the effect that it was beautiful but that it made one sentimental and inclined to be tender and this often leads to being bit. ~~xxxxxx~~ We are all inhibited in the expression of our personal feelings towards one another, our respect, our hopes--andparticularly in print, we poor miserable specimensof what man is yet to become. Do you know Brecht's poem to Posterity? I must type up a copy and send it to you. He puts it better than I coupd possibly hope to do.

Yes you are out of touch. There are so many things happening and not only with our own forces here in Canada--and they are truly astounding--but right across the globe. Possibly the French press unlike the English here has reported on the final showdown with Perara's rotten conciliationism with the Bandaranaike government. The Ceylon ~~xxxx~~ LSSP has undergone a split and the Trotskyists forces have consolidated themselves to~~xxxxxxxxx~~ build a new revolutionary leadership. They will be holding a conference on July 12 Pierre participate in the entire proceedings. A preliminary report has already appeared in World Outlook. Did the local press report on the arrests of Trotskyists in Spain. You must get your World Outlook on an airmail basis. ~~xxxxxxxx

Michel Chartrand
Parti Socialiste du
Quebec

Vernel Olson
Chairman Fair Play
for Cuba Committee

1964

John Riddell
Student, CUCND.

THE REAL CUBA

as three Canadians saw it

an interview with Michel Chartrand

a contribution by Vernel Olson

a contribution by John Riddell

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

amis du peuple cubain

Box 923, Adelaide St. P.O.,
Toronto, Ontario

45 Canadian Students Off to Cuba to Get Facts

A True Peace Corps

A group of friends and well-wishers saw the Toronto area contingent of the 45 Canadian students who are going to spend six weeks in Cuba off on their way at the Toronto airport on June 29. TV cameramen and reporters from the major Toronto dailies bustled about the excited youth. Fair Play for Cuba Committee chairman Vernel Olson gave replicas of BC Indian carvings in the form of bookends to Captain David Middleton (Retired), who is conducting the tour, for presentation to Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro as a gesture of Canadian friendship and good-will to the Cuban people.

WORKERS Vanguard

#98 - Jun. 1964

The week previous many of the students from the Ontario and Montreal area assembled in Toronto to meet the selection committee composed of persons eminent in Toronto university circles, and the Cuban Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Americo Cruz. Dr. Cruz expressed his countries gratification that the 45 students, many of them leaders in various areas of campus life, were prepared to go to Cuba, to aid the Cuban people through a work project, and return to tell Canadians what they saw.

He suggested that they may be working on the Camilo Cienfuegos school city in the Sierra Maestra.

The daily press, TV, and radio, has been embarassed by the whole project with its powerful humanitarian appeal and identification with a country where a socialist revolution which they abhor has taken place. They have limited their coverage to one or two fragmentary items. On the other hand one of Toronto's gutter weekly tabloids, **TAB**, has been playing it up on a big scale week after week. Working the angle that the students volunteered to participate on a project which will remain a lasting symbol of Canadian-Cuban friendship, the May 9 issue displayed a front page feature head; "Castro Recruiting Slave-Labor From Canadian Universities."

Working the other angle—that the students' fares are being paid by the Cuban government — columnist Ken Goldstein, in the June **New Democrat**, smears the students as being bought off and as stooges for the Cuban government. With a feeling of shame NDPers, many of whom enthusiastically identify themselves with Cuba, read in the party's official organ: "I wonder if there is any real difference between this and Big Business donations to the Tories. It's a different piper and a different tune, but he who plays it still calls it."

Do they stand in such fear of the impact of the achievements of the Cuban Revolution that they have to smear the 45 students in advance of their return and their telling the truth as they saw it?

LABOR BOOKSTORE OPENING UP IN VAN

The new bookstore opening in Vancouver marks a big assist to the lower mainland labor and socialist movement. It is located at 1208 Granville near Davie, right in the center of the downtown area. It will specialize in labor and socialist literature and will carry a stock of important paperbacks.

The closing down of the Stanley Park NDP-CCF committee rooms, long a center of leftists, is being compensated by the moving of the League for Socialist Action hall from Hastings to the new Granville address. The LSA hall there will be better located and will have larger and all around more suitable quarters for its regular forums, its library, and other projects.

We understand that everyone is welcome to come over and help swing it into operation.

Montreal Police Interfering With the Circulation of Ideas

Montreal police through the enforcement of a repressive by-law have been blocking the distribution and selling of informational material to the public. A demonstration of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee before the editorial offices of the **Montreal Star** on June 17 was broken up by police when they wisked Robert and Edith Silverman away to a station, informed them that they were breaking the law, and confiscated a leaflet that they and others had been handing out to passersby.

The Montreal FPCC was protesting a series of feature articles in the **Star** which urged Canada to line up behind the U.S. State Department's economic blockade and promoted support for a U.S. invasion of the tiny island republic.

Last month police blocked French-Canadian youth from circulating and selling on the street, **Québec Libré**, official monthly organ of the Front Republicain pour L'Independance. They also arrested Robert Horn for selling the **Young Socialist Forum** to students at the Outremont high school. Horn has been charged with selling literature without a license. The YSF is fighting the case with the aid of civil rights lawyer S. Bless. The judge will make his finding on July 12. Horn has appealed to La Ligue des Droits d'L'Homme to aid in obtaining a Writ of Prohibition which would prevent the city as well as surrounding municipalities from infringing on the right to sell or distribute literature on the streets.

WORKERS Vanguard #98-Jun 1964

THRU THE NIAGARA PENINSULA

They're on the road again. Perhaps some of you have met them or will be meeting them for the first time. For others they are expected—and anticipated. The Trailblazers, with their Vanguard subscription blanks in hand and backed up by a truckload of books and pamphlets on the labor and socialist movement, are now going through all the major Ontario centers. This year for the first time it is an all-woman team and here in their first report;

by Pat Mitchell

We've been on the road now for two weeks and worked in St. Catherines, Niagara Falls, Welland, Fort Erie, Port Colborne and Brantford. So much has happened that we hadn't really generalized our experiences until we discussed this column and then certain patterns began to emerge.

In each community when you asked about the trade union or the employment situation the reply was pretty much the same. Plants are on the move — an inevitable part of automation. As soon as a company decides to completely replace its old plant there is no reason for it to remain in the old location. In fact there are many reasons for it to move —they get rid of the union and all the benefits it has won, they get new, younger workers with no accumulated pension benefits, they can dump the militants who have carried the fight in the shop. And so they move. Kimberley Clark—from Niagara Falls to Rexdale—and International Silver also left Niagara Falls. Reliance Electric out of Welland, Massey Ferguson closing a section in Toronto to open the most automated plant in Canada in Brantford.

While automation is the prime concern with the union ranks, there is little agreement on solutions and little readiness to fight the issue. One trade unionist we talked to, who was very informed about automation and its impact, advocated local tax concessions to attract industry to his community—which is of course no solution to the problem as a whole. At the IUE office which represents Brantford Westinghouse workers, they didn't buy our literature on automation because they already had so much on this problem. But when we asked them about current negotiations — their demands were for 10% pay increases and some increase in vacations, but nothing on the shorter work week. The company offered absolutely nothing and the strike vote was 171 for and 3 against — with almost all workers voting.

Selling subscriptions door to door is quite an experience. The most devastating reply to our introduction of the paper is the one from so many housewives — "you'll have to speak to my husband". And then they go on — either "he looks after the politics in our family" or even worse, "he doesn't let me buy anything door to door". It's really incredible the subservient role women play in so many marriages. We must admit that a couple of times we got the same pitch from men—that he would have to ask his wife—but not often. I wish I could believe this is just a buck-passing device used by either sex but I'm pretty sure it really is the situation for many women.

In Welland the center for social thought appears to be the All Peoples United Churches. They were founded in the '20s by immigrant workers who were brought in to work on the Welland canal. Most of them were Slavs and Italians and these churches had services in various languages. But the churches inevitably became involved in the problems these workers faced and in the organizations they built and through which they struggled for better conditions. They have now largely lost their ethnic character but have retained the working class aspect. There are six of them in the Thorold, Welland and Port Colborne area and they provide a forum on social questions where no other avenue exists. The minister of one of the churches in Welland was the campaign manager for the NDP in the last election, and the candidate for the NDP is also a member of this church. Their Sunday night forums last winter discussed Canada's role in NATO, unemployment, the situation of the Canadian Indian etc.

The socialist youth who were recently expelled from the NDP in Ontario and British Columbia are publishing a paper called **Young Socialist Forum.** Since we think it is an excellent paper, we took copies along to sell at high schools across Ontario. Our best reception was in Niagara Falls where the students were busy writing examinations. Still they were interested, wanted to discuss, impressed by the idea of young people with strong enough convictions to do what we are doing. There was a very strong anti-cadet training sentiment in the school which one article met. They were indignant that the police and the principal should try to stop us and asked the cop: "What about free speech?" when he interfered. We sold 30 copies.

Subscribe Now . . .

$1.00 for 12 issues

WORKERS VANGUARD

81 Queen St. W., Toronto

July 15, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick (F.)

Gus is certainly having a good experience here. He has a job in construction--working with Anglin-Norcorss out on highway No 401. He is a member of Jerry Gallagher's union. First day on the job was Friday. Naturally we did not see him oat the forum. He said that he was all aches and paines. But managed to make it Saturday--for the half day. Monday it rained . Tonight at the meeting we will get a run down. Gallagher cleared the way for him and came himself in person to the forum on Friday. Unfortunately I did not have much of a chance to meet him--I was in the store so that Cliff could meet the contacts. A Few came down from our work on the big solidarity with the Negro demonstration that the Lions provided us with. Gus is attending everything. We have a class on the Proletarian Party underway which Carson says is being conducted very well by Mike.So before he leaves he should have a very good idea of what we are about. I see he is not going back to Cuba but intends to stay here until his visa expires and then go right to Dominica

That was a very impressive demonstration and a good experience for the movement here. We moved in quite rapidly and pulled the NDY along with us just as the CP moved in. What had all the appearances of a united front developed--the CP dominated Atni-Apartheid committee providing the front. We did not quite anticipate this and as I told John R who was there as it moved in this direction he should have informed us so that the ISA appeared openly. Jim O got on the publicity committee and the first release aside from a few unfotunate aspects was not bad. The meeting called to work out the leaflet was supposed to be composed of the executive and the three man publicity committee. Jim was our only man and the CP swaped it with various persons they pulled in as representing various union locals. Needless to say in a confrontation between the lone Trotskyist and a bunch of CPers and periphery types we were ignored. Obviously it was necessary for us to see that there were some NDYers in there to whom the CP would have had to show some sensitivity . The leaflet was quite poor. Mitch was in charge of distribution and we with the CP circulated it. The whole affair only got rolling however with Joe Meslin's forcing the labor council executive to present an emergency motion to the council. The resolution was a bit ludicrous, the best we could get--demanding that Wallace get no civic welcome--but it served the purpose of thrwing the thing on the floor which gave various persons an opportunity to call for a counter demonstration and legitimatize such an idea. Then Fienberg, the labor brass and the NDP moved in ,put themselves art the head. Jim walked out of the publicity committee in protest with the threat of putting out our own leaflet but of course we decided not too as ithe whole thing was rolling and it would not be understood--would only play into the hands of the CP. Besides we had the Vanguard with our article on the civil rights bill and the box on BeBerry. As Lewis-Feinberg moved in the CP pulled back. At the meeting called in Allen Gardens after the first demonstration [illegible] marshalls that this had been agreed upon so they stayed up. Mike Steel urged the cops to stop us from distributing the Vanguard to no avail. The next morning demonstration held during work hours strange to say was a turn out of little more than the night before. At this one it was the good Rabbi who attacked Cliff fistributing--wit h a couple of burly cops nearby he let them know that he would not only acquiece but would be even pleased if we were stopped. Of course the paper distribution was very valuable. BBesides some of the comrades met some new people on the line.which contained a considerable number of youth.

The whole thing constituted an important precedent for future joint activities

The business manager of the Vanguard took very careful and due note of the change of address you sent here. He left the sub going to your folks in the hope that someone there would open it and read it . He fully intended to send a first class copy to you—not only as a special service but as a pressure on him to write you more often. Well he will send you a first class copy on a routine basis.

a

I thought that the RIN article was very good addition to the paper. A little overly long for our small paper but of good quality. I gather that you had an interview with D'Allemagne—you wrote me that you had been speaking to him and of course there are extensive quotes. However it is not written up as an interview. I suppose you had reason for it qould obviously be a good thing to play up an interview withhsuch a figure . No doubt you are aware of a n editorial modification I made in the first paragraph. ..the phrase to the effect that the PSQ may well be stillborn. The RIN itself should be reported on in the Vanguard, its devlopments which appears so promising should be followed—but it seems to me that short comment could walj be understood by our readers as a new orientation on our part—away from the PSQ to the RIN I am sure that that was not your intention—and even if it were being considered by you such a matter of such importance cannot be posed in such a casual way—in passing so to speak. Mike considers the article to constitute a re-orientation and considers it to be a repudiation of the line of a previous article by you on the split that took placevin the PSQ executive a while back—a reorientation which he has favored it seems to me all along .

The fall of which as I argued then we should view as a temporary disorientation and that you that working get temporarily disoriented. Some of our people there—can very well constitute a considerable pressure on us to respond to episodic developments. I see you have been working under conditions that are unfavorable to write the document. I am wondering if you have been able to get really into it and if you have if you are in a position to send us some kind of draft. It is possible that it breaks down in such a way that a portion of it could be farmed out

And I see that it is not only wit this little experience that we need the documentation but from the minutes reporting discussions in the branch there. It is difficult to express and opinion on the discussion reported in the June 26 minutes under Publications. It is obvious that La Lutte should appear rregualarly as regualarly as possible. Since we do not have substantial forces and we do not want to be tied down completely to puting out a paper we should commence with modest aims—quarterly if necessary. We can always put out supplements and announce more frequent publication but we should get things underway. Of course in the ordinary meaning of the word it cannot be action oriented—a quarterly—a monthly even-mimeographed. But it can arrive at a syntheses as Bob says as witness the Vanguard. Yes I wouldn't be inhibited , just sensitive to the contradiction that we are in our being as yet English circulating a paper in French

I take it that those discussion so succinctly reported are quite long, possibly even hectic since I read that you adjourn atll;20 without an educational—a formal one.

Tommorrow is the day if I recall correctly when Bob's case comes up. How did the meeting of July 6 come off—with the FRI and the Parti Pris?

I see it is almost time for the meeting so I will send this off as it is—and pick up tomorrw.

(R.D.)

July 16, 1964

Montreal

Dear Comrade Brian; (Slocock?)

By now you should have received the order you sent us the other day. Sorry about the slightly watermarked condition of The New Course—all our stock is the same—they are becoing rare again. Sort of a momento of the last Trailblazer tour's being caught in a tremendous clodburst in Windsor last year. Trotsky's Russian Revolution is at present out of stock in Canada. We have a copy on order which should arrive any day. It sold last time for $16—a lot of money but well worth it for as you no doubt are aware it is much broader than the title would suggest

Hoping that you will be able to come in before the school term commences. Art should be back from Algeria around August 25 and of course the Cuba junket will have wound to a close in good time before school commences. We received a couple of letters from Mexico but none as yet from Cuba. However Mrs Brown phoned into the Vern O's place the other night and told him that the Can team is making a tremendous impact in Havana and is being compared extremely favorably to the US students who appear to be not near so ent usiatic. So far we have only received a short note from Art—composed during a Siesta coming in from a desert area. He thinks that the Algerian revolution is at a turning point and even antitipates that it may even make it while he is there.

I hope that the Montreal press carried extensive material on our inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the American Negro struggle. Did you manage to see any shots of the YSF banner for it was there despite efforts of the CP marshalls to hall it down and the Vanguard was effectively distributed despite Rabbi Feinberg and Mike Steel's attempts to have the police stop us.

I have just received a call from Pat Mitchell—our Trailblazers are in town-to make a shift in personel and head on into the north. So I had better get ready - get the kettle on and prepared for all the inside dope.

Incidently would you tell the organizer that Jack Scott just passed through Toronto here on his way to Montreal. I got into a short discussion with him and in passing he mentioned that they are in the process of organizing setting up some kind of organization. I raised the matter of their attitutde to the league and the need to regroup revolutionary socialist currents. He said that he would discuss this matter with me but has failed to turn up. An unfortunate development should they consolidate some kind of party—but we would like any information possible. I think you have some contact with Maoists—perhaps you can move around in the next day or so.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

July 26, 1964

Montreal

organizer R.H.

Dear Bob;

Enclosed is some information of importance for the branch. Plunkett is a member and treasurer of the Montreal branch of the CCND who writes that he has one committed group supporte and another 3 or 4 interested supporters for a Chinese-Canada friendship organization.

I wrote you about Scott's trip to Montreal. He reutrned last weekend and he and several others had a conference at the Victoria hotel. Cliff Gu nter a friend of ours from Windsor attended. I had a long talk with him on the Saturday before the conference but have not yet heard what happened. I will have to write him . Jerry L has made some connections amongst students here. The other day after a lengthy absence Fred S came around and I think that we have an understanding that within the next ten days--Norman Endicott will be back within a week--we will be coming to some hard understandings as to how we will move in this direction.

Will keep you informed

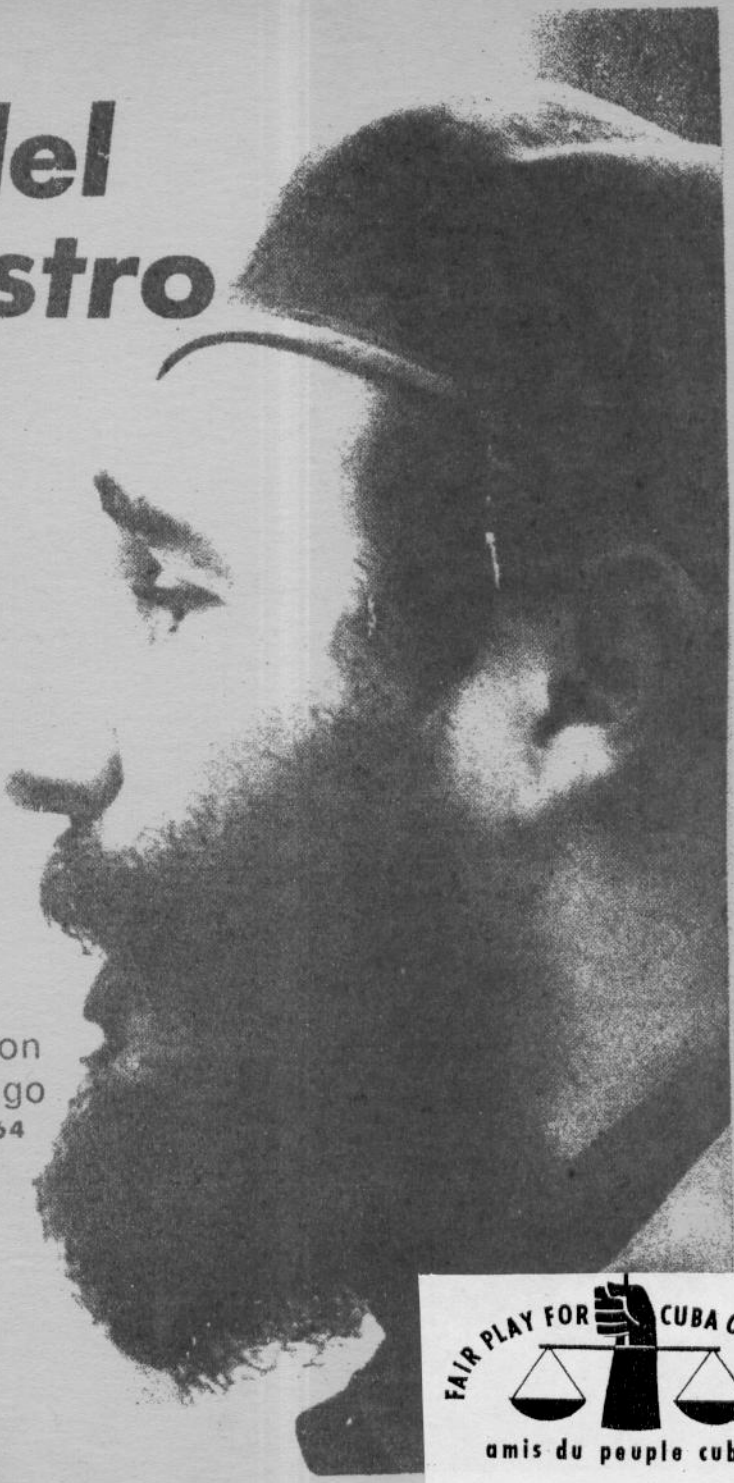
And where is the box number for Fair Play. I am holding up the elect ronic stencils on the new French pamphlet we have made of Mandel's article in La Guache until we get the box number. I assume you agree that we do not want to use a house address. Would appreciate some information if not the actual box on this matter.

comradely

Ross

1964

Fidel Castro



declaration of santiago

july 26 1964

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

amis du peuple cubain

Box 923, Adelaide St. P.O.,
Toronto, Ontario

WORKERS Vanguard

#99 - July 1964

Automation Big Issue at Ontario NDP Rally

By Cliff Orchard

Automation can be a tremendous boon to mankind by drastically reducing the amount of hard labor and sweat involved in production. But futuristic visions are sharply punctured by on-the-job experiences with new technology and speed-up. This, and the steady stream of articles from the press and reports of various agencies and bureaus where estimates are made that 4,000 to 4,500 jobs a week in Canada are being displaced by new machines, make obvious the threat that automation today holds for the security of all workers, regardless of age, sex, or occupation.

Even the most powerful industrialists and financiers who own the vast industrial and administrative complexes and are introducing automation into them have gnawing fears about its repercussions. And you can be sure it isn't the ensuing unemployment of thousands of workers that unnerves them. For although it is designed to improve their competitive position at the expense of one another, and to boost profits by cutting labor costs, the new technology threatens to immeasurably sharpen already existing contradictions in capitalist society. It could set off such forces that they are beginning to doubt capitalism's stability and their ability to maintain their rule—at least in the old way. It is no accident that discussions on automation in even the most con-

(See Page 2—WILL THE)

Will the Ontario NDP Convention Face Up to Automation Challenge?

(Continued From Page 1)

servative circles are studded with "revolution" — scientific revolution, technological revolution.

Recently the Ontario government sponsored a seminar on the subject. The Toronto **Globe and Mail** as much as admitted the inability of present-day Western society (capitalism) to cope with automation when it stated in an editorial ". . . the conference revealed that no one in business, labor, government, or the universities has yet developed any clear idea of how this accommodation (of capitalism to automation) can achieved."

Unable to solve the problem, the next best thing they can do is deceive the public, on the one hand by minimizing it; or on the other, by portraying a pipe-dream world of the future, a world of abundance in which machines do all the work and where the major problem will be what we poor weak-willed humans will do with all our spare time. To the unemployed and those due to be unemployed, living from hand to mouth, this has all the makings of a bad joke.

But the demonstrated inability of the ruling powers to solve the problems of their own system has not phased the leadership of the New Democratic Party, who retain all their old confidence that capitalism, the free enterprise system, can be modified and made workable, despite automation.

Colin Cameron's recent statement entitled **Socialists Needed Now**, in which he cautiously suggests the new technology needs a new social order—socialism—is such a glaring exception that it only proves the rule. Cameron, the NDP MP for Nanaimo, wrote in his recent column in the **Star**; "No one has yet come up with the answer to the problem of how to fit an increasingly automated industrial complex into the pattern of a private enterprise economy. Within a few years it will become obvious that the purpose of automation, the elimination of human labor, is just not compatible with the chief purpose of private enterprise, the sale of goods. The two purposes cut right across each other."

Not that the rest of the leadership is totally unaware of the seriousness of the situation. In the main they are. Stephen Lewis, presenting a brief to the Ontario Legislative Assembly on behalf of the party caucus, gave dozens of examples of the effects where automation has already been applied. In a recent **Globe and Mail** interview, party leader Donald MacDonald expressed fears that so fast was the onrush of automation that, as in the industrial revolution, piecemeal adjustments to the system might be inadequate.

The NDP leadership can even expose the Ontario government's pretense at solving the problem! Lewis, told a Toronto NDP meeting that the government's technical school projects are next to useless in their existing form because "they have no way of knowing that what they teach today will be needed tomorrow." And he has also stated that even the best "retraining" is only a palliative since it doesn't answer the basic problem of fewer jobs being available.

Then what is their answer? At a seminar sponsored by the Hamilton Area NDP on May 2-3, MP Reid Scott stated "We should put forward our economic thinking to clearly establish the difference between the NDP and the old line parties in the public eye." But these proved to be empty words, for the main emphasis of the seminar was placed on education and job retraining, the same place that the Ontario government is putting its emphasis.

Against this background, the provincial convention of the Ontario NDP, to be held in Toronto on August 10 to 12, is of great importance. If workers' fears are to be answered by anyone, it should be by this convention. It could draw the necessary bold conclusions and formulate a program based on the workers' needs, that can actually cope with the problems of automation. The NDP has a chance to show what it can do, to prove itself to workers, and to rally the support needed to pull it out of its present slump and place it on the road to forming a farmer-labor government.

But the study papers distributed by the administration to convention delegates do not give one much confidence that they anticipate this happening. One paper up for serious consideration is entitled "What Will We Do With Leisure?" Should the unemployed take this as any less of a joke than when it comes from the mouth of big business?

Another study paper suggests that automation makes necessary the shorter work week—possibly 32 or even 20 hours, maintaining wages at their present level. An excellent suggestion, but vaguely projected as necessary for the remote future, and not at all put forward in the framework of giving vigorous support and leadership **now** to those forces in the trade union movement who believe the issue can't be sat on. (The Ontario Federation of Labor supports the 30 hour work week for 40 hours pay—on paper. At the present rate, it will be reached in the year 2005—hardly a serious fight against unemployment.)

Another study paper suggestion, that Crown corporations be established in districts left destitute by run-away plants, is an obvious evasion of the demand to put such industries under public ownership.

The labor advocates of labor-management cooperation, not for any lack of trying, have been failing miserably in their efforts. But Stephen Lewis is prepared to try again. In his legislative brief he emphasized that "the desperate struggle is to have management recognize that the social costs of worker displacement or relocation are as much a charge on the company as depreciated machinery." But Lewis misses the whole point. Hasn't capital always considered that it has met its complete obligation to labor through the payment of wages—the smaller the better? And what is the whole point of automation for capital if not to cut labor to an absolute minimum?

Recognition of the class struggle and openly taking sides with the union movement in it provides the starting point in formulating a program to win automation to the service of man at this coming convention. By supporting and seriously campaigning on issues such as the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, nationalization of key sectors of industry, etc., the party can begin working towards an economy owned and operated by the working people, a socialist planned economy, the only way to transform the problems developing with automation into opportunities for all mankind.

No Canadian Support for U.S. In Vietnam!

By The Editors

If North Vietnam is not at this moment the arena of a confrontation of U.S. armed might against the armed might of the Chinese Peoples Republic, if we do not yet have another Korea on even a bigger scale, threatening momentarily to escalate into the third World War and the destruction of mankind in a nuclear holocaust, it is no fault of President Johnson, the U.S. State Department, and the Pentagon.

When they launched massive assault forces with nuclear capacity out over North Vietnam, which they boast in one blow destroyed 10% of its oil storage capacity and three quarters of its tiny naval force, the U.S. government not only committed an act of ruthless aggression, "tantamount," as NDP leader T. C. Douglas stated, "to a declaration of war." As the Chinese government has charged, they "went over the brink of war."

If we had only the experience of the phoney machine-gunned and shell-blasted transport plane that limped into Miami heralding the CIA-engineered Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba we would be skeptical of the incident that has been provided to justify this perilous action. Several tiny, ineptly handled, North Vietnamese PT boats are alleged to have taken on and left unscarred the flag ship of a U.S. fleet.

We may never know the full facts about this incident. But we do know that since the end of World War II the U.S. ruling class has been building up a situation in the Far East that make such incidents inevitable.

We know that the U.S. has assembled one of the most powerful military forces in human history, thousands of miles from its shores and right off the shores of China. The Gulf of Tokin is no more international waters and no less Chinese and North Vietnamese waters than the Gulf of St. Lawrence is Canadian waters.

We know that the U.S. is actually doing what, with flimsy evidence, she charges North Vietnam is doing — intervening in South Vietnam—which after all was one people and one country until truncated by the Big Powers at Geneva. We know that the U.S. is claiming to uphold agreements of which she is not even a signatory, that she is intervening in South Vietnam on the "request" of what is merely a puppet government of her own creation.

We know that this venal crew is in a serious internal crisis, that leading elements have been pressing for the employment of the latest U.S. equipment in assaults on the North and have been conducting raids there. We know, even from the daily news services, that what the U.S. is calling a conspiracy of assassins is a people in revolt attempting to rid themselves of a corrupt and murderous dictatorship that stands in the way of necessary revolutionary changes.

With the same cynical contempt that they demonstrated for U.S. government bodies, President Johnson and the lords of the Pentagon informed their junior partners in Ottawa after the event. With shameless haste the Pearson government, with the support of the capitalist Tory party and the two Social Credit parties, underwrote the deed. Only NDP leader T. C. Douglas protested. He demanded that it

(See Page 3—NO SUPPORT)

WORKERS Vanguard

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French Canadian Bosses Hit Workers at La Presse, Dupuis

By R. Brock

MONTREAL, July 25—Of the many labor struggles currently taking place in Québec, undoubtedly the most politically significant is the two-month old lockout at **La Presse**, Montreal's biggest newspaper, which prides itself on being "the biggest French daily in America."

The lockout was sparked by the strike of 300 typographical workers, who hit the streets June 3rd after contract negotiations had dragged on since December. Chief issue at stake was the company's announced intention to introduce automated typesetting equipment, which would have reduced employment considerably. The typographical union counterposed the demand for a shorter work week, as well as a program of employee retraining, to cope with the new machines. But even before picket lines had been set up, the company put the key in the door, and locked out all 1200 employees.

As negotiations resumed under a government-appointed mediator, it soon became evident that much more was involved here than simply the question of automation, important as that it. Contract talks with the eleven craft unions covering the remaining employees had been in various stages of progress. The **La Presse** management now insisted on conducting talks with all unions at the same time, and has since consistently maintained that publication will not resume until all issues have been resolved. The aim behind this maneuver is clear.

La Presse has for some time been the haven of a large part of the French-Canadian intelligentsia. Its editor-in-chief, Gérard Pelletier, formerly a prominent Québec labor leader, was hired a few years ago by the wealthy Berthiaume family which owns **La Presse**, in a shrewd move designed to outmaneuver the potential competition posed by the appearance of the NDP-oriented **Le Nouveau Journal**. Despite his own moderate liberal pro-capitalist views, Pelletier gathered around himself a coterie of some of the brightest young journalists in French-Canada, and moved the paper to the "left", to the point where it endorsed the NDP in the last two federal elections. Provincially, however, it continues to support, although critically, the Lesage government. Partly because of this reorientation, **La Presse** was able successfully to weather the competition from **Le Nouveau Journal**, and the latter went bankrupt within a year. Ironically, the very success of Pelletier contributed to his own undoing. For now there was no more need (from management's point of view) for the "leftish" editor and his dangerous journalistic team.

Among its roster of prominent young writers are such figures as Pierre Bourgault, president of the separatist Rassemblement pour L'Indépendance Nationale, Lysiane Gagnon, editorial board secretary of **L'Indépendance**, official organ of the RIN, and Parti Socialiste du Québec member Pierre Vallières, 25-year-old former editor of the influential **Cité Libre**, who along with thirteen of his confrères — many of them reporters at **La Presse**—was forced to resign last March from the editorship of that

(See Page 2—FR. CDN.)

Automation Big Issue at Ontario NDP Rally

By Cliff Orchard

Automation can be a tremendous boon to mankind by drastically reducing the amount of hard labor and sweat involved in production. But futuristic visions are sharply punctured by on-the-job experiences with new technology and speed-up. This, and the steady stream of articles from the press and reports of various agencies and bureaus where estimates are made that 4,000 to 4,500 jobs a week in Canada are being displaced by new machines, make obvious the threat that automation today holds for the security of all workers, regardless of age, sex, or occupation.

Even the most powerful industrialists and financiers who own the vast industrial and administrative complexes and are introducing automation into them have gnawing fears about its repercussions. And you can be sure it isn't the ensuing unemployment of thousands of workers that unnerves them. For although it is designed to improve their competitive position at the expense of one another, and to boost profits by cutting labor costs, the new technology threatens to immeasurably sharpen already existing contradictions in capitalist society. It could set off such forces that they are beginning to doubt capitalism's stability and their ability to maintain their rule—at least in the old way. It is no accident that discussions on automation in even the most con-

(See Page 2—WILL THE)

Printers in Hard Showdown Struggle With Toronto's Big 3 Press Barons

The 700 members of Typographical Union No. 91 have rejected the package offer of Toronto's Big Three newspaper barons and are now digging in for a long hard struggle. Canada's first lockout over automation commenced when the owners of the **Star, Telegram** and **Globe and Mail**, after blocking for 22 months the unions' attempt to ensure that it has some say over a data center development under which computers would handle work for a variety of departments including the composing room, suddenly granted all other demands and arrogantly, arbitrarily and unilaterally put them into force.

Two days before the August 1 membership meeting the newspaper bosses reported that the computer issue had been agreed upon, and even boasted that it signified a retreat on the part of the ITU. But they remained hard on a whole series of issues that they had injected into the dispute some four days after the lockout, and added another 20 proposed changes in the contract which Local 91 President Robert McCormick said "would have the effect of operating open shop composing rooms."

Among these union-busting propositions was one that would drastically curtail union authority over work by removing foremen and assistant foremen from the jurisdiction of the union, and another demanding the extension of any arrived-at agreement for another two years. As compensation the Big Three have offered "a lifetime job guarantee" which, even if it were honoured, would look after the interests of one small pocket of ITU members at the expense of the membership as a whole, not to speak of the working class which must be the beneficiary of technological progress and not its victims.

There is little question, on the basis of the present strategy of the leadership, that the struggle is going to be long and arduous. Instead of mass pickets the typos set up token pickets on all three papers. While they have been joined by the members of the affiliated Toronto Mailers Union all three papers have been able to continue publishing.

The leadership of the other newspaper unions, at the same time as they voiced sympathy for the locked out typos, gave unctuous assurances to the newspaper owners that their membership would cross the lines and continue working on the basis of their previous contractural arrangements. While the contract covering Newspaper Guild members at the **Telegram** even specifically permits refusal to cross picket lines without job jeopardy, only 11 have recognized the typo picket.

A large breach was cut through the typo picket when in the third week of the strike the engravers' leadership won approval for a contract that contained several of the clauses that the newspaper bosses have been attempting to impose on the typos.

Of course there is solid sympathy among the picket crashers for the strikers. An unofficial body of local leaders in the various printing trades issued over the name of Orville McGuire, executive secretary of the Guild, a warning that other unionists might walk out should negotiations "break off or draw on intermittently." McGuire added that there were union members who are troubled over the unions' declared intention to honor existing contracts and their personal conviction against crossing picket lines.

But emboldened by the continual violations of the picket line and the success of the bosses to continue operation with the use of management personnel, type set by perforated tape, and a few imported scabs, a bloc of Guild members were successful in forcing through a Guild membership meeting a repudiation of McGuire's statement. Robert Buchanan, the former executive secretary of the local, took advantage of a motion that the Guild offer its good offices to help settle the strike, to throw out a challenge to the meeting.

In a withering attack on the Guild leaders for failing to give leadership, he declared that "this union has been presiding over its own destruction." He asked Guild members going through the typo picket where they could turn for support at the end of this year should their contractural proposals be rejected. "In the last few days," he challenged "your measure has been taken and you have not measured up very well." He charged the engravers for signing their contract with being "too busy taking pennies from a dead man's eyes," to help sister unions. The strength which we needed for 30 years is gone because we are weakening it ourselves, he warned.

Another speaker called for one big graphic arts union. "Our life is at stake," he declared. "If management doesn't pick us off

(See Page 2—NEWSPAPER)

WIDE SOLIDARITY WINS IN BC

VANCOUVER — Two notable labor struggles were won in B.C. the week of July 4th to 10th. Both were precipitated into strikes by the high-handed arrogance of management relying on the application of the Socred government's anti-labor legislation. Both were won through the solidarity, commitment, and devotion of organized labor, both in and out of the CLC, and with the help of friends of labor, both men and women.

In Alberni on Vancouver Island the prime issue was recognition of a union for office workers. During the 7 week strike of 49 office workers against the giant McMillan, Bloedel, & Powell River, timber, pulp & paper complex, 3,000 fellow workers in four other unions refused to cross the slender picket line.

Two aspects of the settlement however, are disquieting. One is the establishment of a precedent for compulsory arbitration in the acceptance of "binding" arbitration in the unsettled matters of wage differences and precise conditions of union recognition. The office workers union (IUOE) had held out against the Rand formula but finally accepted a variation which gives management the right to transfer and pressure 49% of the office employees either out of the local operation or keep them out of the union. During the strike the company made a big issue of the "business secrets" aspect of office personnel. With this formula which agrees to maintain only 51% in the union the company has great latitude to decide who shall stay out and who shall be transferred to other parts of the company's widespread operations.

However the united workers demonstrated their strength; forced the company to withdraw actions already started against the IWA, the Pulp, Sulphite, the Electrical, and the Papermakers unions, and established the union —a breakthrough which lays the basis for large scale organization of office workers in B.C.

Friday, July 3rd, the management at Standard Oil of B.C. in Vancouver indefinitely suspended three men, for refusing to unload containers brought in from behind a Steelworkers picket line at the Surrey plant of Vulcan Containers (Canada) Limited. The Oilworkers placed a picket line on the operation. This resulted in the extraordinary action of an injunction being granted at 5:30 a.m. on July 4th. by Mr. Justice J. S. Aikins, who had been

(See Page 3—BC OFFICE)

WORKERS Vanguard #99 - Jul. 1964

Vancouver LSA Holds House Warming

Saturday, July 18, was the formal opening date of the new headquarters of the League for Socialist Action in Vancouver and friends and supporters were invited to a "house warming" social. Visitors to the new hall were shown the new bookstore that will be open early in August and which will cater to the radical public and will deal mainly in paper-back books.

Comments of approval were expressed by those who saw the new hall for the first time and it is generally regarded that the LSA's move to better and more central facilities is a step forward for left forces in Vancouver.

The following evening, on Sunday, July 19, the first regular forum was held in the new hall. A good turnout heard Lawrence Shumm, a special guest from the United States, speak on the recent coup in Brazil. Mr. Shumm, who is a graduate from Berkeley University, was one of the youth who defied the State Department ban on travel to Cuba last year and is a student of Latin American affairs.

One of the highlights of his speech was data on capital investment in Brazil which showed that next to U.S. capital, which has shaped that country's economy so that it is nothing but an extension of its own, Canada has the largest investment.

Of special concern was the information he reported appeared in a recent issue of the Mexican journal **Siampre.** It carried a report based upon a number of secret letters that had been sent to Latin American embassies by the U.S. State Department over Mann's signature which laid down a plan for the isolation of Cuba within the coming year. The military coup in Brazil was a part of the general strategy for military action against Cuba, possible to come after the November elections.

The speech was followed by an intense question and discussion period.

WORKERS Vanguard

#99-Jul. 1964

TORONTO PICKETS U.S. RACIST

Of the many world-wide gestures of solidarity with the U.S. Negro Freedom struggle, the Toronto demonstrations sparked by the presence of Alabama's racist Governor Wallace as guest at the Lion's International Convention are among the most impressive.

Almost 1,000 whites, with a sprinkling of Negroes and a very high percentage of youths circled Maple Leaf Gardens on the opening night of the convention. The delegates had to run the gauntlet of pickets who sang "We Shall Overcome" and carried placards reading "Throw Wallace to the Lions," "Segregation Democracy's Enemy", "Canada Needs Racial Equality Too." Hundreds of sympathizers of the pickets lined the other sides of the streets where the police maintained a horse-mounted squad in reserve.

Spontaneously and simultaneously with the downtown demonstration two others took place. A group of demonstrators appeared at Toronto's international airport to meet Wallace as he landed in his private plane emblazoned with the Stars and Stripes and the flag of the Confederacy accompanied by body guards and a squad of heavily armed state troopers. Another group of demonstrators confronted him as he arrived at the swank Royal York Hotel where he was flanked by a bus load of RCMPers and quickly whisked up to his suite.

While many thought that the next day's picket, called during working hours, would be anti-climactic almost another thousand turned up to demonstrate their hostility to Wallace and the racism he represents.

The idea of a demonstration had been circulating around from the time that it was known that this much touted service organization was inviting Wallace to address its convention. It rapidly jelled when the July 2 meeting of the Toronto and District Labor Council saw the executive submit an emergency resolution requesting the city council to deny any official welcome to Wallace.

This resolution opened up a vigorous discussion which saw delegate after delegate call for militant protest and action—the most common, a massive picket line on the Gardens. There was opposition from several delegates including Horace Brown, city alderman and delegate from the Newspaper Guild, who attempted to make out that a demonstration in someway signified a violation of the right of Wallace to speak. Apparently anticipating that no action would be taken by the council an anonymous leaflet appeared calling for pressure on the Lions to cancel Wallace's speech and, failing that, suggesting a picket line. In the process of the debate the Ironworkers delegates admitted authorship of the leaflet.

With the enthusiastic response of the labor council, and the widespread publicity that the idea of a mass demonstration received, things commenced to roll. Some 18 organizations headed up by the tiny Anti-Apartheid Committee, including representatives from the New Democratic Youth, the Young Socialist Forum, various CP peripheral organizations and activists in a scattering of union locals met. Declaring that Governor Wallace was not welcome in Toronto they decided to appeal to leading civic officials to absent themselves from participation in any of the convention activities until such time as the Lion's club made clear its opposition to Wallace's racist policies, and to organize a mass protest should Wallace appear at the convention.

Another group composed largely of churchmen, intervened with large scale ads in the daily press headed "Welcome Governor Wallace". Opposing the idea of a protest picket with slandrous imputations that it violated free speech and even implied violence, they appealed to citizens of Toronto and the Lions to contribute to the Martin Luther King Fund. This caused labor leader Murray Tate, associated with the fund, to issue an immediate repudiation, and everything continued to roll on.

Various attempts were made to take the Lions off the hook. Suddenly an Emergency Committee of Five appeared on the scene headed up by anti-nuclear leader Rabbi Feinberg, and Eamon Parks of the labor council. It appealed to Lion's President Aubrey Green to cancel Wallace's engagement. But Green had already made his position clear. As head of a 720,335 member organization with only 48 Negro members in all North America, he explained to the Toronto press the absence of Negroes in his home club in Alabama as being due to the fact that "Negroes were not invited to be members because of the social structure there." A Toronto alderman who had been handed the honor of chauffeuring Green in the parade was dropped because he had made anti-segragationist statements.

When Green did the inevitable and rejected the plea, the next evening Rabbi Feinberg, along with David Lewis, vice-president of the NDP, placed themselves at the head of the picket line. In fact everything was handed over to them so that what had commenced with many of the appearances of a genuine united front disappeared from the scene. Attempts were made to remove the YSF placards from the picket line whereas it had been previously agreed that organizations would identify themselves. Parade marshalls and Rabbi Feinberg himself attempted to get the police to block the distribution of the Vanguard.

The Martin Luther King fund reported that it collected only $625 of its $20,000 objective. It did not pass by unnoticed that not only Ontario Premier Robarts but Metro Mayor Allen and Toronto Mayor Givens participated in the official ceremonies welcoming the Lions from whose platform Governor Wallace attacked U.S. President Johnson's watered-down civil rights legislation as "tyrannous" and the Supreme Court which upheld its legality as "outlawing the customs of the land and outlawing God."

The demonstration was a tremendous success. There has been nothing of such a character in Toronto since the thirties. Significantly it swept along with it the generally staid and conservative leadership of the labor council and the NDP. It is to be hoped that with this achievement some foundations have been laid for successful united front demonstrations in the future.

Readers Conta

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WORKERS VANGUA

81 Queen St. W., Toro

REPORT OF A MEETING HELD AUGUST 23, 1964

TO DISCUSS THE VANGUARD TRAILBLAZING TOUR

AND TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE TOURS.

Present - Comredes Kent, Labossiere, Dunnfield, Anderson & Scott.

Financially the tour sold $260 approximately in subscriptions and literature and received in direct subsidy from Toronto, $220.

There was considerable discussion of the weaknesses of the tour and the following criticisms and recommendations were made.

1. There was a lack of organized discussion and decision making on the tour, and a consequent lack of collective decision-making and responsibility. It was recommended that future tours have formal meetings at a regular time, since there was a tendency to postpone decisions until a crisis had been reached when decisions cannot be made in the most positive and rounded way. The suggestion was made that minutes should be made of these meetings and one comrade suggested internal educationals be made.

2. The tour was not up-to-date enough on the news either through newspapers or radio. We could then have acted on the Viet Nam crisis more readily.

3. It was felt that the tour was inadequately informed prior to leaving Toronto. The tour members were not sufficiently clear on the purpose of the tour, the situation they could expect to meet in each community, the degree of success they could expect to achieve etc. The next tour should have fuller discussions with comrades who have been on previous tours and outline of the size of communities, their industrial composition, the unions active in the community, the political level and key people should be (very briefly) outlined.

4. There was a long discussion of the number of subscriptions sold and of the balance between door to door work and renewal work. It was felt too much time was spent chasing old subs and not enough time on door to door work. It was felt that comrades in the past have been able to sell 1 sub an hour in the morning and afternoon and 2-3 per hour in the evening. This tour didn't spend enough time on door to door and also did not have any really top-notch sub-getter on it - usually previous tours have had one person who could sell particularly well. The evenings in particular should have been used for more door to door work.

5. We discussed the possibilities of the political climate being qualitatively less favourable, the tour being women, and the factors or possibilities were applicable.

6. It was felt that we should have consistently ~~xxx~~ taken one night off a week and known this in advance.

7. Contrary to the tone of the above points, there was no feeling of failure, the comrades were generally satisfied with the project.

45 Cdn. Students Enthusiastic About Eight Week Visit in Cuba

The Canadian students who have just returned from a two month work tour of Cuba "were especially impressed by the spirit and enthusiasm the people have for building socialism in their country."

Twenty seven of the group of 45 arrived in Toronto on August 30 after having been delayed and split up due to the submission of British authorities at Nassau to U.S. pressure. A plane supplied by the Cuban government was refused permission at the last moment to land at Nassau and the students were compelled to return via Mexico, with some of their number flying direct to Vancouver and Calgary.

Organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in collaboration with the Cuban government, the project drew students from university campuses across the country. Coming from widely varied backgrounds, many of them leaders in campus organizations, the 45 had been selected by a special committee of eminent educators in the Toronto area.

The most impressive aspect of their reactions to what they saw and heard in Cuba was their almost unanimous, highly enthusiastic, approval. When they entered the air terminal at Malton the students immediately presented two declarations to the press — one signed by 27 of the English speaking students and another signed by the 10 French Canadian students. Six had been compelled to leave the tour before the statements had been drawn up, due to previous commitments. The press searched out those who did not sign. One who characterized the rest as "a bunch of starry-eyed people" explained that he had not signed because the declaration "was all positive and no negative." Another of the nonsigners made the same criticism to probings of Canadian press representatives at a special conference that evening. But when asked to comment on some negative features, to her embarassment was unable to do so. Another replied that she had not signed because in the search for unanimity the statement had became "too watered down", although it was not inaccurate.

The declaration expressed gratitude to the Cuban people for "the opportunity to witness their revolution first hand" and "the hope that Canada will move to better her relations with Cuba in the form of increasing her cultural and trade exchanges, and of protesting the embargo with a bolder, more independent voice."

The declaration then marked out five points upon which, on the basis of their own real experiences, they felt that the Canadian people hold misconceptions. They state that the "overwhelming majority of the Cuban people support with enthusiasm the revolution and Fidel Castro;" that the revolution "is firmly established" and "will not be dislodged by an economic blockade nor by an invasion." They note that the people are not starving; "now everyone receives staple foods and children and old people get special attention," that there is freedom to criticize the revolution, and that any Cuban is free to leave the country.

The declaration signed by the entire French Canadian contingent, if anything, is even stronger —ending up with the words "We have seen a free territory, the first in America." It scores American propaganda regarding Cuba as "completely false." "The enslavement of Cuba" they say "is to the dignity of man; the tyranny to which Cuba is subjected is the freedom to work, the freedom to study at all ages, without distinction in color, or social class, and freedom to construct a just and free society."

The students were 8 weeks in Cuba all told—10 days of which they spent working on the site of the great school-city Camilo Cienfuegos, alongside of Cuban workers, digging foundations, hauling cement, eating the same food, sharing the same accommodations. One of the students characterized this as "an unique experience". Another commented on the strong spirit of the workers to build the school and the warm relationship between the workers and the supervisors. Three of the students: Jacquie Henderson, Ruth Tate, and Andre Beckerman, were honoured as Vanguard workers, and another three —Bob Mahood, Dave Adams and Fay Frazer, with another award. In response to various questions as to constitutional government and elections several of the students stated that there appeared to them to be more elections in Cuba than anywhere else in the world. Kathy McLay said that the Cuban people are much closer to their government than Canadians are to theirs. "Fidel always goes to the people and they talk to him."

David Middleton, a former NDP federal candidate who supervised the tour, commented on the enthusiasm demonstrated by bakery

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Cuban Tour

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workers who use Canadian flour, and workers at a rope factory whose product goes to Canada, to meet the Canadian youth. The rope workers insisted on turning up at the factory on their day off and pointed out with pleasure that Canada had not joined the OAS.

The students expressed enthusiasm to return to their campuses to tell their fellow students of their experiences. FPCC national chairman Vernel Olson told the press conference that the committee plans two elaborate booklets containing contributions from the students-

WORKERS
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Rank and File Disturbed at Ont. NDP Convention

By M. Mill

The theme of the second Ontario NDP convention, held on August 10, 11, 12, was "Automation and Social Change". But by the end of the third day many of the delegates had nicknamed it "The Automated Convention." Right from the start, it was obvious that the party leadership intended to keep rank-and-file participation to a minimum; to begin with, the meeting was held during the week, making it impossible for most working people to be delegates. Then in a second and even more serious anti-democratic move, the leadership refused to seat one of the legally elected delegates from affiliated UAW Local 112, the largest union local in the Toronto area.

Chairman Prof G. Grube, set the tone of the whole convention when he rudely ruled out of order an obviously popular emergency resolution to ban the Toronto dailies from the floor of the convention because of the ITU strike against all three major newspapers. The motion was proposed at the very opening of the first session by a delegate from Riverdale riding, Marilyn Stewart. In fact, the chairing of all the sessions was unbelievable; with a challenge to the chair being overruled by the chairman himself on more than one occasion.

Since automation was to be the theme of this convention the struggle of the Typographical union against the Toronto newspapers for control over computers was a burning issue. The delegates voted overwhelmingly to support the printers and condemned the publishers for their arrogance in attempting to establish a completely free hand in the introduction of automation. When the resolutions committee chairman, Wally Ross of the Steelworkers, called for a picket line demonstration of solidarity with the printers after the day's session ended, the enthusiasm of the delegates was obvious.

But again the leadership, in the person of national leader David Lewis, intervened by pointing up the illegality of such an action in the face of injunctions, and by appealing to the delegates not to jeopardize negotiations which it turned out were not even underway. In the midst of this discussion the latest issue of the typos' strike paper, **The Printers Story**, was circulated amongst the delegates. An article entitled NDP Ranks In Turmoil revealed the fact that two prominent NDPers were scabbing by crossing the printers' picket lines; Michele Lewis, the wife of NDP MPP Stephen Lewis, is still working as a reporter at the **Globe and Mail**, and Don Stevenson, a past federal candidate for the party and delegate to this convention, is still working at the **Telegram**, where he has the right to refuse to cross any picket line without losing his job according to the Newspaper Guild's contract. Apparently this damning truth was too much for some right-wingers who protested against the "bad faith" of the typos. Sid Dunkley of the ITU and delegate to the convention replied quite simply "I don't apologize for it."

The new panel system, whereby the convention was divided into smaller groups which were to meet on the opening day to consider specific problems and then report to the plenary sessions for full discussion, came under severe attack from many delegates as undemocratic. Although the majority of the riding association resolutions were referred to these panels, little discussion on the motions was allowed, almost no votes were called, but a lot of so-called experts were listened to. As one delegate put it, "What can you say when they're talking about automation 2,000 years from now?" (still within the framework of capitalism, of course). On top of this, minority reports from the panels were not allowed even though on the opening day it was stated by the chairman that they would be.

Although the arrogance of the party brass and their bureaucratic rulings were shocking, the most serious setback to the party and democracy came when Hugh Dowson, an affiliate member and official delegate of Local 112 UAW, was not seated. Mr. Dowson was turned down on the grounds that he is the brother of Ross Dowson, a "Trotskyist", and thereby a supporter of what they have decreed to be an opponent political party, the League for Socialist Action. A leaflet asking for their reinstatement distributed by a group of youth expelled last year reminded the delegates that Dowson's case was not an isolated one but that a witchhunt against socialists in the party is going on. Such actions as excluding legally elected union delegates can only open the door for Liberal and Tory minded unionists to argue against the affiliation of their locals to the NDP since they cannot even select their own representatives. The editors of the Liberal **Toronto Star** seized this action of the brass to heap scorn on the party for upholding the medieval concept of guilt in the blood.

In the face of these blatant attacks on democracy a number of youth, riding associations and particularly union delegates formed a rank-and-file caucus. Created on the march, it won the support of about 10% of the 600 delegates. When Nat French, chairman of the PEC of Local 112 UAW, appealed the case of Hugh Dowson, ⅓ of the delegates supported him. In the elections to the provincial executive the rank-and-file slate, composed mainly of militant unionists, came within 60 votes of taking two of the members-at-large.

When the balance sheet of this convention is drawn up the results appear to be contradictory. On the negative side there is the increasing arrogance of the reformist party bureaucracy, the undemocratic procedure of the convention itself, the continuing drift of the party to the right, and the ever-present witchhunt against socialists. On the positive side there is the stand the convention took in supporting the printers against the papers, thus reinforcing the labor character of the party, and particularly the formation of the opposition rank-and-file caucus. The formation of this caucus was perhaps the most important happening at the convention not only because it showed that an organized opposition to the present leadership of defeat can do something, can put up a good fight, but also because it tells the brass that no matter how many socialists they expel or exclude they will not go unopposed.

(See Page 4—ONTARIO)

SASK. CCF RALLY OPPOSES NATO, OAS

Among the resolutions passed by the 704 official delegates who participated in the recent Saskatchewan CCF convention was one that resolved "that this convention assembled categorically reject any suggestion of the wisdom of merger of any kind with any other political party" and which firmly stated that "we deplore any irresponsibility of any of our members who discuss questions related to merger as though there were some merit to the idea."

The resolutions on international affairs committed the 37,000 member strong movement to advocate "that Canada leave NATO forthwith and until this is accomplished we resist any multi-lateral force for NATO," to advocate the "elimination of nuclear weapons from Canadian soil" and "the termination of Canadian participation in NORAD."

The convention also went on record as demanding that "Canada refuse to join the Organization of American States" and "use every means in her power to bring to an end American harrassment of Cuba as well as American interference in the affairs of Laos and South Vietnam."

Ontario NDP

(Continued from Page One)

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League for Socialist Actio
Protests Ban by B.C. NDP

The League for Socialist Action has been proscribed by the provincial council of the BC section of the New Democratic Party. This ruling baring anyone with membership in the League from holding membership in the party was revealed in a statement that appeared under the name of the Staff in the July issue of the BC NDP's official organ **The Democrat.** It has now been utilized to expel Ruth and Reg Bullock from the party. (see statement.)

The expulsions followed on the heels of the August 22 meeting of the BC NDP executive to which Ruth Bullock, a longstanding CCF and NDP activist and prominently identified with the LSA, had been invited, along with Winnifred Henderson, a leading leftist in the BC section, and Hugh Clifford, prominent CCF NDP activist, manytimes official candidate, and a leader of the BC Socialist Caucus which includes such notables as Cedric Cox and Dorothy Steeves.

The ruling that the executive has now enforced against the Bullocks was passed by the provincial council with almost one third of the delegates in opposition.

Ross Dowson, national secretary of the League, in a statement to the press, condemned the proscription as an outrageous attack by the present liberal-reformist leadership on democracy in the party, on the right of any minority opinion in the party to organize their forces in order to effectively promote their views. "With success in proscribing the LSA," he queried, "who will be next? — the BC Socialist Caucus? — the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Foundation in Alberta?—the New Left Association in Montreal?—or even the far right EPIC?"

He declared that this action by the BC leadership, together with the action of the Ontario leadership at the convention this month, which saw the largest local in the Metropolitan Toronto area deprived of the right to sit a legally elected delegate of its own choice, constitute a stag ing blow at democracy,

The statement in the Democ attempts to quiet those would "criticize the party" le ership, who would "cry in t uish" against this unilater taken action with a hodge po of arguments. They range fr smearing LSAers with years activity in the NDP, and before that, as "infiltrators" the movement, as "attackers" the party, as proponents of id "counter to those of the par and as supporters of an organ tion "dedicated to the destruc of the NDP" Dowson bran these as falsehoods on all cou

The LSA's aim, he said, is win the NDP to a socialist pol Neither the LSA nor the Vangu attack the NDP, but only th who now so arrogantly and p sumptuously identify the pa with their own persons and th own views — persons who sh the party got off to such an spiring start three years a have proven only able to lead from defeat to defeat.

The party brass' statem makes it very clear that they proscribing ideas — ideas wh they designate as Trotsky That is what the NDP leaders have labelled their socialist op sition in the party at every ti M. J. Coldwell once even sta that delegates from Toronto the Regina CCF founding c vention "were really Trots ists."

The LSA will fight this act to the limit of its ability, s Dowson. It feels confident that will win the support of every r democrat in the party. The le ership may succeed in this act at this time, but at most it w mean merely driving these id and efforts temporarily und ground. It is because the cl struggle and socialist viewpo expounded by the LSA is inher in the party, is an integral part the experiences of an import and growing body of Canadia that the NDP brass will ne succeed in outlawing it from t party.

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OPEN LETTER TO B.C. NDP MEMBERS

The BC constitution of the NDP says membership is open to those who undertake that they will accept the constitution, principles, and program, and are not members or supporters of any other political party. The BC constitution further says in sections 48 and 49 that while the executive may discipline, such action may only be taken with written notice of the complaint and a fair opportunity for defence. The constitution does not give the executive authority to expel. In our case the executive found the constitution inconvenient so tossed it out the window, set up some new rules, and proceeded to expel us. We both have a long and honorable record in the labor and socialist movement in BC. We pointed out to this executive they couldn't stop us from being socialists nor very well expel us from the producing class to which we belong.

To us there is a degree of macabre humor in being the objects of bureaucratic expulsion from the workers political movement by the action of a bare quorum of an 18 person executive. In itself this attendance is a fair measure of the seriousness with which this executive considers its responsibility to the party. The composition, too, is significant: careerists, small businessmen, ex-RCMP, and a not so "ex" stoolpigeon. Several of these persons have fairly recent connections with the Liberal, Conservative and Social Credit parties. We do not deny their right to membership in the NDP but our point is that they are strange people to be pronouncing judgment on persons of long standing allegiance to socialist and working class ideas.

From the uproar about the League for Socialist Action some of you may not realize this grouping was formed in 1960 before the organization of the NDP. In June 1961, prior to the founding of the NDP the LSA issued a statement welcoming the new party and advancing programmatic ideas we felt were necessary for the health of the organization. In brief this statement proposes that the NDP should strive for a new socialist society; that it be a party of peace and come out against NATO-NORAD; that the party advocate dealing with unemployment through the shorter work week, and the granting of unemployment insurance at trade union rates of pay for the duration of unemployment; nationalization of industries to produce for use under control of the producers and through a national plan; for a live organization integrated with all the struggles of the producers in a society and not a mere election machine. Does this sound to you like a program contrary to the principles and policies of the NDP? Was this the program which led the NDP from defeat to defeat since its promising inception in 1961? No! The program which failed the Party was the crass, shallow opportunist one advanced by the very leadership which now lays about for victims.

This liberal-reformist executive really doesn't know where it is going and moreover has the nerve to equate its own mean aspirations with the desires and needs of the producers. How do they explain the loss in membership and the rising debts of the party? They arrogantly don't bother to explain and they can be very casual with truth. The proscription resolution speaks of "a careful examination" of the LSA. Many times Ruth offered to discuss the question—and at no time either during the harassment of the young people or ourselves was any discussion of the issues permitted. Of course there is on record some alleged "evidence" obtained through the employment of stoolpigeons with peculiar imaginations. When the time arrived for the cross-examination of these low forms of life during the trial which was being conducted under the constitution, the proceedings were suddenly terminated. The next step was the expulsion of the 11 young people by bureaucratic method which established the precedent used against us.

At our appearance before the executive on Saturday, August 22, 1964, the reason we were summoned was cynically and hypocritically explained as: "It would not seem fair to take action against the youth and not against the adults." At this point Ruth made the logical query as to why the youth should have been under attack at all before she had been questioned since she had been publicly associated with the League since 1961. Of course there was no answer—how could there be?

Another example of the leadership's tricky handling of truth is the suggestion in the August issue of **The Democrat** that the LSA tried to steal the letters CCF. Since the executive can read they know very well this is not the sentiment of the LSA. However in light of the frustration of ideas imposed by this ignorant and bureaucratic leadership we can understand the motivation of the action and appreciate it is well meant.

This leadership prates continuously about being "democratic Socialist". We think they do protest too much and their actions give the lie to their words. Their actions are not democratic and they are not the actions of socialists. As for their hydrophobic slavering about Trotskyism—to us it is reminiscent of Stalin—who was a pretty efficient bureaucrat, too. With Stalin, also, the method was organizational repression and no discussion permitted. Trotskyism is one of the modern expressions of Marxism. We have both long been convinced Trotsky was correct in the great political questions of the late 1920's and thirties .Today it is a truism to note that the analyses advanced by him have been proved historically and continue to gain acceptance. Despite our own conviction we have never attempted to force our views on anyone and we challenge this undemocratic and unsocialistic leadership to produce any such person.

We don't think any one grouping has all the right answers—nor all the correct methods. We think the NDP will only grow and prosper through being set

AND SUPPORTER

back upon the road it started to be a broad inclusive part the interests of the produce society not an exclusive part a narrow leadership. The his of working class politics is of sad examples of parties as of promise as the NDP which came more and more exclus opportunist, and bureaucr attuned only to the needs of careerists, until the life choked from them. Isn't this w happened to the CCF? Who w want to revive the CCF of fifties?

We continue to support NDP and we will continue pursue every avenue of ap against our bureaucratic ex sion. We feel that by this ac and the one which establis the precedent for it—the ex sion of the 11 young people— party has been degraded brought into contempt and picion in the public eye. We gret this and we feel that to honest we must protest. We c demn this liberal-reformist le ership, and those among th who go along because they d not speak out, for proscrib threatening, and expelling soc ist members.

The answers to the probl of the times we live in can b be given by socialists and it the duty of socialists to g these answers despite thre The League for Socialist Act will continue to operate bookstore at 1208 Granville, hold its public forums and classes in its hall there. We l forward to meeting you there our mutual good.

Ruth and Reg Bull

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Toronto Unionists Face Challenge of Labor Slate

This month the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing 135,000 unionists and their families in the Metropolitan area, will be considering the endorsement of candidates for municipal office.

In the two elections in 1963 the New Democratic Party captured approximately 25% of the vote in the Metro Toronto area. Yet in the last municipal election two years ago the Toronto and District Labor Council, which has endorsed the NDP as its political arm, failed to present its own candidates and did not press the NDP Metro Council to field candidates. It ended up endorsing a well known Tory to head the civic administration as mayor.

In so doing the council leadership succeeded in reversing the council's longstanding policy of endorsing only CCFers (the precursor of the NDP) or trade unionists sponsored by their locals. Early this summer, over the strenuous opposition of several delegations, including UAW Local 112's who urged the presentation of a full labor slate, the council reaffirmed the previous resolution that permitted endorsement of a Tory and committed the municipal committee and the PEC to make specific recommendations with regards to this coming election at a September meeting.

So far there are only two firmly declared candidates for mayor — Mayor Givens and Controller Lamport—the one an official Liberal candidate in the 1958 federal elections, the other a onetime Liberal MPP. Both have extensive records from their years in the civic administration which rule them out as candidates having "a commendable record with regard to the community's welfare as a whole", as the council resolution requires.

They are responsible for the lack of subsidized low-rental housing, for the starvation welfare monthly food budget, and a taxation structure that weights heavily on the small homeowner and lightly on the big corporations. On innumerable occasions they have shamelessly demonstrated their subservience to the city's big business interests — both voted to allow Maple Leaf Gardens to infringe on public properties. Their difference on the south Queen St., development is how best to place municipal power at the disposal of the real estate speculators—with Lamport redbaiting expropriation.

Worried about the increasing influence of the Liberal machine in municipal politics the Tories have started a campaign for the conscription fo Robert Macaulay who only recently under peculiar circumstances resigned as economics minister for the Robart's government. This has, for the first time in years, since the CCF presented a slate, posed the issue of party politics on the municipal plane.

It is of course the responsibility of the NDP-Labor Council to present candidates from its own ranks for civic office. It has the personnel and the funds. Its failure to do so has gravely weakened its position of support of the NDP on the other levels of government and actually strengthens those forces who have been seeking to sink the NDP in a coalition with the Liberals.

The League for Socialist Action has announced that should the labor council fail in its responsibility to that 25% of the electorate who now vote NDP and the thousands who must be won to this concept, that it will field a candidate for mayor. It is also considering presenting other candidates in an effort to pose a labor alternative to the Liberal-Tory cabal at city hall.

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Trailblazers Digress Into Past

By Gail Anderson

It wasn't all selling subscriptions, meeting and discussing with trade union militants and socialists. We have learned a lot about the country we've lived in all our lives while travelling through Ontario as Vanguard Trailblazers.

History is different and real when you stand on the battleground at Stoney Creek, or see the Martello towers in Kingston, or cross the actual trails over which settlers trudged on to the West. We are particularly pleased with our own sleuthing work concerning the history of a Negro community that once existed at Lucan, near London.

We had heard of this Wilberforce Community, one of several attempts by escaped Negro slaves to start a new life in a new country. So we cut out work for a day to dig up this vital piece of Ontario history.

Asking the people who would know in a small town, the librarain, the postmaster, the priest, we found them oddly reluctant to talk about Lucan's history. We could only extract this: that the community had once existed, near Lucan, that the streets of Lucan had been laid out by a Negro family, the Butlers, that there was one Negro left in Lucan, a Butler, and that he probably wouldn't speak to us at all.

Finally we realized that Lucan is also the scene of the still unsolved murder of the Black Donnellys, and that the six foot fence around the cemetery where they are buried indicates how unwilling Lucan is to dwell upon any of its history.

The Donnellys were exciting, but not our chief interest. We searched out the old Negro cemetery, now overgrown, abandoned by all but the diminishing Butler family, and found there old white marble slabs dating from the 1830's.

We then did some searching in the London library, and we found that the community was founded in 1829 by freed slaves from Ohio. They negotiated for land from the Canada Company, with the help of the Quakers. A good number bought their homesteads, and they set about clearing land, building homes, roads, churches, and schools. The Wilberforce community was never any bigger than 200, and it foundered upon the rocks of internal dissention, opposition from without, and too ambitious expansion plans.

These Canadian Negro colonies, havens where Negroes could take up free responsible lives, were powerful ammunition for the Abolitionists. We came across reminders of our own native Abolitionists: a church in St. Catherines founded by Negroes who came North through the Underground Railway, Uncle Tom's cabin near Dresden, recently opened as a museum, records of huge Abolitionist meetings in Toronto's St. Lawrence Hall, and records of Canadian volunteers in the Northern army against slavery.

But there were reminders of local race prejudice as well. A young member of the Wilberforce Community died a mysterious death after marrying a white girl. The Canada Company soon adopted a racist policy of never selling land to Negroes. In the heat of the Civil War, the Family Compact merchant gentry wined and dined refugee officers of the Confederacy. Their interests, like the Canada Company board members, coincided with the British industrialists whose mechanized mills needed the cheap, slave-produced cotton of the South.

This is all history now, but any one can still see this is a part of Canadian life today. It is still very profitable for the propertied interests to foist race prejudice on the working people of Canada, for whom such ideas can have no benefit whatsoever.

We read in the Toronto papers about the big demonstration against Alabama's racist Governor Wallace, the biggest in Toronto in twenty years, and we hope it indicates which side the working majority of Canadians has chosen in the Negro's and their own struggle for freedom.

Sept 8,1964
81 Queen Street W

Dear Dick

You greviously tempted me but I had to resist your invitation on the weekend and for a little while longer I am afraid. Besides you dont have the headquarters according to our agents that you promised

It was my birthday last Friday and there was nothing I could do but put in an appearnace Sunday afternoon and evening at a little affair at my sisters' in Port Credit. There was a duck and birthday cake and all of Hugh's children who also br brought along --an apple pie for me. Then someone came along with the bright idea that we should leaflet the Labor Day prareade with a leaflet on the mayoralty question. I resisted as best I could but unfortunately ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ I had to admit that they had a point. Pat was not well and had to leave after her phenomenal job at the parade selling Vanguards so nothong would do but I write it. Came in about 10;30 on Sunday--night, wrote it out to my satisfaction-slept on it and then came down about 6;30 in the morning to type it out and run it off. Got it off in time to join what other forces we had to cover the parade.

It was quite a blitz all in all---a Fair Play leafelt on the student meeting at the Barcaly hotel this evening, Fair Play pamphlet salesmen--the LSA leafelt and the Vanguard salesmen. We sold something like 250 copies of the Vanguard. Pat mis judged the time we had --I had not even got through half the leaflet when some contingents started tomove off so I was so rushed getting the rest out that I was hardly able to get an impression of the panrade.

I dont like to leave Toronto right now. Pat is just taking over--Cliff is job hunting and making himself immediately available for work so he can be off any day. I dont think we can leave Pat alone in the store--at least not for a while , until she gets some experience. But it should only be a matter of weeks and Pat will have things under control. Right now she has been trying to take job after job away from me--but I am fighting hard. There may be another change of importance here for the center. This morning I received a personal note from Ernie raising the whole matter of his return ~~mgg~~ here. He thinks that the situation has so improved there that the branch is in a position to release him---probably you were aware that he always considered that he was coming back to Toronto. Apparently he has broached the matter somewhat informally to some cmrades there --I have sugg ested that he raise it formally. They have only recently taken on some big respon sibilities. Of course Jean is there--now running the bookstore. Her arrival in Vancouver changes the picture considerably--she is one of the finest persons I have met--bold fearless, honest

Sorry about the stove. I promised the Steele's who are carrying on with our apartment on St Clair the small stove here in the basement. There are already two up in St Clair. But when the comrades went up to move them on Thursday or Friday they found that they could hardly move them let along get them out onto a truck. You can pick them up second hand,very good ones for as little as $25.00

I hope you saw the Vanguards amongst the baggage--and the literature that Art brought back for you from Algeria. There is a little more here which Brian will be

bringing back with him. The enclosed cheque is for the Algeria committee. Art gave a forum on Friday night and we took up the collection for Annaba. It is not much but we cannot really do much more. Can you send the whole amount over wit a shrt item for Algerie dans Le Monde or do you have some expesnes there that should be covered by this. I hope that it can all go over as this was the aim of the collection.
You might write up a short note to the effect that the meeting sponsored by the LSA was addressed by Arthur Young just returned from the World University Services seminar that this year was held in Algeria. That I chaired it---I had participated in the conferenc [illegible] of the European Committee of No Governmental Aid . Art as you no doubt noticed in the last Vanguard was in Annaba at the time of the disaster. I reffered in my comments to the need of the Algerians for aid to their revolution and reported on the receirt of a special appeal from the committee for aid to Annaba(new name for Bone)Art spoke for about two hours so you can savely have him saying almost anything that you think is useful for the short report. We are planning to send out a letter to all current event programmers in the high schools and any other outfit we think might be interested in hearing Art. Art may be going to Detroit to speak to the Militant Forum there is a couple of weeks. Something might be said about these plan in a general way.

But this was not to be a letter--but just a word of appreciation of the warmth of your invitation and an enclosure of the money. I will write about other matters before the week is out.

warmest regards

ross

‘’The Struggle for a Proletarian Party in Canada (1921-45)”

(From “Notes of a speech by R.D. taken by John R., 9.14.64” *(Title handwritten by RD)*
(Transcribed from these notes, with additions in italics by the Web Editor)
(See also ‘’Glossary of Canadian labor movements and parties).

The summer of 1921 saw the preparations for the founding of the Communist Party of Canada, the great beginning of the struggle for a proletarian party in this country. Why so late? *(given its inspiration was the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, October 1917).*

While in Canada there was the revolutionary capacity for struggle, the theoretical backwardness of the North American workers’ movement delayed any meaningful response.

The texts of the Russian Revolution were still not available; Lenin’s writings were not published in English until 1921. The Canadian revolutionaries had limited experience and no contact with Europe. Existing currents such as the IWW (International Workers of the World and the OBU (One Big Union) *(both pioneers in union organizing and the forerunners of industrial unionism in North America)* were revolutionary-minded but limited to syndicalism *(fighting only for ‘’plain and simple” economic gains*), rejecting political and parliamentary action.

Although the Socialist Party of Canada did have the economic analysis of Marx and Engels, they had no political program to match, remaining a sectarian educational grouping .

It was the Russian Revolution which provided the impetus for the appearance of the our Canadian journal *Workers’ World* . The first issue was dominated by a huge report of the Third congress of the Communist International (CI). This emphasis on international events was typical; the early Communist Party looked a bit like a ‘’Fair Play for Russia Committee,’’ struggling to digest and apply the experience of the Russian Revolution to Canada.

What was attempted was to give the workers of Canada a ‘’transitional program’’ – with answers to the questions ‘’what is the path to power?’’ and ‘’what kind of party is necessary?’’ The lead editorial of the first issue of *Workers’ World* (subsequently *Workers’ Guard* from the seventh issue of October 15, 1921) was short and to the point: ‘’our aim is to establish soviet power in Canada.’’

The program of the CPC began to take shape in *Workers’ World*, as the journal began to gather around it together the best elements of the rising militancy in Canada, such as Max Armstrong who was prominent as a top educator of socialist ideas, and the two future leaders of the CPC, Jack Macdonald and Maurice Spector . On November 26 *(shortly after the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution)*, the call went out for the Workers’ Party based on the following principles, briefly stated:

1) For a workers' republic (i.e., soviet power in Canada), 2) political action, 3) involvement in union struggles, 4) democratic centralism, and 5) the foundation of a party press. The communists clearly demarked themselves on both sides from those who refused political action and from those who rejected trade union struggles

The formation of the Workers' Party of Canada was announced in December 1921 after a public conference of 60 delegates at the labor temple *(in Toronto).* Since then as the fate of the early leadership of the Communist Party was traced in *Labor Challenge (we learn that)* only one leader, Tim Buck, was not subsequently kicked out of the party, a few years later, as a ''Trotskyist.''

The membership base of the CPC was probably better than in the USA-CP in some ways. The (foreign) ''language'' federations were the real base of the party *(in Canada)* without however aspiring to control it. The CPC did not have to fight to ''Canadianize'' the party *(as the American party had a long bitter struggle to ''Americanize'' the US party)*, and while the political life of the CPC was less stimulating than the US Communist Party, the dead-end factionalism *(sharp political debates*) of the US party did not exist in the CPC.

The CPC's Anglo-Saxon *(English-speaking)* cadre was reasonably strong, allowing the party to experience an early flare of growth (despite) the grim period it was established in, marked by the red scare that resulted from the (suppression of the) Winnipeg General Strike, the imposition of the infamous Section 98 clampdown which made the CPC semi-illegal.

Yet Maurice Spector was expelled only six years later (!) in 1928 for Trotskyism, while he was still the party's top theoretical leader, and without having had the opportunity to address a single membership meeting. Jack Macdonald, the most popular leader of the party – never a Lovestonite, American exceptionalist Mac was not theoretically developed – he had no faith in the CI and wanted to build the Canadian party on Canadian issues), he joined Spector in 1931 *(as he in turn was expelled from the CPC).*

But together, ''Mac'' and Spector never got to first base in the party. What happened? Why did this degeneration take place? It was because of the inexperience of the cadre, and because the authority of the Russian Revolution was so great – and this authority was transferred to its leaders. With the defeat of the Left Opposition *(around Trotsky in the USSR),* the fate of the Canadian CP was already sealed. Tim Buck became the transmission belt of Stalin to an extent that was unique in the world! Buck weathered all storms over subsequent years, made all the turns, eventually outlasting Stalin himself.

The CPC under Buck's leadership went through all the flip-flops of Stalinism over the next few decades. CPC leader Stewart Smith who went to the USSR to become indoctrinated in anti-Trotskyism, came back and wrote a ''Third Period'' attack *(when the Stalinists veered off briefly to ultra-left policies)* on the CCF *(the farmer-labor party*

based precursor to the NDP) entitled ‘’Socialism and the CCF’’ attacking the CCF as the greatest danger (!) to socialism. Then, following another flip-flop, back into popular front policies *(the signature Stalinist politics of multi-class ‘’anti-monopoly” coalitions).*

No revolutionary situation was betrayed in Canada in this period, as in France or Spain, but what did happen was that a whole generation of revolutionary cadre was destroyed in this country.

Maurice Spector launched the struggle against this Stalinization, the first such political campaign in North America. He got information about Trotsky’s struggle while he was in Germany and he took a position against the Stalinist theory of ‘’socialism in one country’’ as early as 1926 (?), in any case before 1928 when he had spoken to James P. Cannon (one of the principal leaders of the US CP) whom he knew as a dissident in the American party. Spector told Cannon he was a Trotskyist. Whether Cannon did not grasp the significance or hesitated before awesomeness of the struggle, he did not take a stand at that time.

But Cannon and Spector were working together when they went to Moscow in 1928, and came back with the ‘’Criticism of the draft program'' *(Trotsky’s seminal polemic against the emerging politics of the newly Stalinist-dominated CI ,* which became the Trotskyist program of 1927 and 1928.

Today Trotskyism has a very basic, easily identifiable meaning: for socialism, class struggle, a labor party, and defence of the Cuban revolution – enough to identify us very clearly. It was clear in 1921, too: for soviet power and the 5-point program. But in 1928 the issues seemed terribly abstract, revolving around the theory of socialism in one country. Trotsky had made a prediction: if this theory is adopted – the theory that Russia can achieve socialism by itself, if it is left in peace, free from imperialist attack, then the role of all other workers *(above all in the industrial but colonial countries also),* their supreme task, is to keep the peace, to be the border guards of the soviet bureaucracy.

Today it is all so clear! How extraordinarily correct Trotsky was; his prediction vindicated in every statement of Krushchev’s regarding ‘’peaceful co-existence.’’ Back then, Trotsky could be easily distorted, as the heady wine of the Revolution was still fresh. Experience had (in most countries) not yet validated Trotsky’s theory; the CI was still years from the ‘’popular front’’ (class-collaboration) policies and was in the middle of its ultra-revolutionary ‘’third period.’’

It was said that Trotsky was against any stabilization, against any immediate, limited struggle. But, as the theoretical positions began to grow by real experiences, the Left Opposition was formed internationally. The Left Opposition in Canada, at first part of the American movement, circulating their journal *The Militant (Cannon having been expelled from the CPUSA)*, began to grow with the German experience. The German party was the apple of the eye of the Comintern (*the world council of CPs in Moscow)*. All were sure that the German Communist Party was the next to seize power. But . . . it was crushed without a struggle; there was great concern over the victory of Hitler.

Spector held large public meetings on the German question; meanwhile in the ‘’Red Unions’’ *(third period alternate unions dominated by the CPC)* the Stalinists had effectively slit their own throats, isolating their union militants from the real unions. However, this was corrected by the time of the epic struggle to found the industrial-union federation, the CIO in Canada, when the Stalinists played an effective role.

As Trotsky said, his movement could not grow because its program was **vindicated, but only by defeats**.

The best forces (of the working class) were meeting defeat; they could not re-assess their action in the atmosphere it created; they were scattered, demoralized; whole generations of militants were destroyed. While hundreds of thousands of North American workers went through the US-CP, the revolutionary movement remained small. Because of the defeats the CP led, the working class movement into the party never developed.

Thus the CPC never flowered, never broke out of its old circle of Finnish and Ukranian workers, those foreign-language workers who were used again and again to crush dissident elements in the party.

This period marked the end of the Stalinist Canadian Communist Party as a revolutionary force. Still, there was no lack of internal disputes – the Fergus McKean-Fred McNeil dispute of 1945 was a clear fight against class collaboration during the (second world) war; the Salsberg fight of 1956 *(was over CPC support for the Moscow bureaucracy against the Hungarian revolt)* . But the dissidents never formed an alternative force; never went to the roots of the problem *(Stalinist ideology)* ; their battles only further dissipated the forces of the CPC.

In the Canadian political setting of the 1930s, there was an atmosphere of defeat, where war was regarded as certain (the CP was campaigning for war) and there were workers’ defeats on every side *(notably Spain).* The CPC was making headway as a purely reformist movement; the CCF *(founded in 1933)* was stalemated; the only workers’ upsurge at that time was the upsurge of the CIO, where the CPC made good connections and played an important role. The revolutionary socialists (the Trotskyists) hung on as a small, besieged group, designated as ultra-left madmen, until finally, the Moscow Trials occurred.

In the infamous Moscow Trials, the Trotskyists were the chief defendants. Our movement could hardly hold meetings because of the physical attacks of the CPCers, and our opponents were not the bourgeoisie or social democrats, but workers who thought of themselves as socialist revolutionaries. This was the most demoralizing form of attack. In this atmosphere, never underestimate the strength of those who held on!

With the beginnings of the CCF came the struggles over our orientation to it. After 1934 this was the big question – the orientation towards the reformists. After the German defeat, we no longer looked to reform the CPC (*(the Stalinist defeat and the rise of Hitler prompted Trotsky to declare the third international bankrupt –ed.)* In 1936, (when Ross

Dowson joined) it was a movement with its back to the wall, with a few sophisticated workers, not recruited from the class struggle, a majority of intellectuals, a great many unemployed – perhaps a hundred in all.

The principal discussion in the movement was on the CCF – social democracy had survived; it had forced the CI into the united front, in order to convince the workers in this way of their superiority.

This was the time of the ‘’French turn,’’ the tactic of fusing with the left currents in the social democratic parties. This resulted in the first important split in the Canadian trotskyist movement with the opposition Oelerites taking the position *(against any entry tactic),* that the banner of the party must always be upheld as a sacred principle . The result was the split-off LRWP, which had a great initial flourish and for a time was larger than the original movement. In the debate over entry into the CCF, Macdonald favoured the tactic while others on the National Committee opposed it for tactical reasons; the result was another split and the existence of three groups! *(A deleted section follows describing the fate of petty-bourgeois grouping around Krehm in the LRWP, which however completely disappeared with the outbreak of World War 2 –ed.)*

By 1945 not a single person remained of the LRWP. By 1928 the two other Trotskyist groups had re-united with the founding of the Fourth International along with the SWP in the United States. But Spector went to the US at this time, where he opposed SWP entry into the USA Socialist Party and soon dropped out of the party. Macdonald was worn out as well. The movement had great difficulty in publishing a paper, the movement having been fused on a compromise, an agreement to draw no balance sheet of the CCF entry but to conclude that the entry was ended and to set up an open organization.

But it was just after the fusion that war was declared, and after only two issues of the journal was published, the movement was forced underground *(actually the second issue was banned under the War Measures Act and had to be circulated underground as a mimeographed sheet – see the journal section of this website --ed.)*

The main area of work at this time was the unemployed movement where we won the leadership, in struggles for cash relief and against forced labor for relief. The impact of the war was great – it seemed everyone was for the war – only we opposed it – along with the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Every tendency on the left supported the war but us after 1941. A tremendous terror was unleashed at the outset of the war. All the CPC leaders were thrown into prison. We published an underground mimeographed paper mainly to hold the cadre together *(see Socialist Action in the journals section –ed.)* A terribly vicious atmosphere built up around the war with the entry of the USSR. The Communist Party of Canada ran to the bourgeoisie; it openly supported the Liberal Party, cheek-by-jowl with (Tory leader) Hepburn and (Liberal leader) Mackenzie King.

That was Trotskyism during the war. The continuity of leadership of the American party (the SWP) was lacking in Canada. In Canada the original leadership was gone. The CCF orientation remained: a complex question which had never been resolved. No anti-

war sentiment could be mobilized; it was there, especially in Quebec, but there was not much that could be done to mobilize it.

The greatest achievement for Canadian Trotskyists was to hold the cadre together. Not until the end of the war could we start again, and by then the old forces were worn out, and they were in many cases outside the mainstream of the working class movement ; only a small handful carried on. Our journal *Labor Challenge* began just before the end of the war and had a big impact. The CCF started to move as it got the soldiers' vote ; the union movement was rushing ahead having made great gains during the war even though often through class collaboration , which now had to be defended in the great strike wave of 1945-46 when all these gains were consolidated.

(end of notes)

TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES IN VOICE OF WOMEN (TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES) (IN VOICE OF WOMEN) (Found in Sept. 1964) R.D. note ↓

When we approzch an organization with the purpose of working within it we ask a number of questions 1. what is its program? 2. what is its social composition? 3. to what degree can we provide political direction? 4. what can we get out of it in terms of recruitment? how much effort shall we put into it?

what perspective has the movement

"what perspective has this movement"

1.For an understanding of the VOW it is necessary to provide a brief history. VOW was founded by conservative middle- and upper-class women such as Jo Davis and Mrs. Lester B. Pearson around a vague program of opposing nuclear device testing. It reached a creisis a year and a half ago over the decision by Pearson to accept nuclear arms for Canada. This decision foreed VOW to define its purpose. After great debate it determined that it was opposed to nuclear arms opposed to military alliances and in favor of an activist organization with a membership prepared to demonstrate in favor of its program. These commitments were undertaken with the full understanding that they would mean the loss of the more "respectable" elements in the movement, and at this time a number of members did leave, marking a major turning point in the organization.

However the same pronouncement by Pearson that created a more clear-cut definition of their program and tactics also signalled a defeat of the anti-war organizations as whole. Some movements collapsed, others changed to some egree their orientation and purpose.

2.VOW's philosophy if it can be said to have one is that anything that promotes better understanding between peoples can be considered within their sphere of influence as an anti-war movement. Therefore it undertakes such activities as promoting bi-culturalism, intenational children's camps, visits from soviet women, exchange of books from one country to another and International Co-operation Year. VOW tries to preserve a non-political, non-class pacifist outlook. However despite its weaknesses it calls for a renogiation of our NATO treaty, withdrawal of nuclear arms from Canada, favors recognition of Red China, and wants the reconvening of the Geneva Accords in order to stop the war in Vietnam.

3. VOW has over 4000 members (Feb.'64). They come from varied backgrounds. Ther are non-working wives of workers and ~~s~~semi-proffessional and professional men. There are working women and professional women ~~an--a-number-of-the~~ There is a lack of young women. Politically they divide into ~~three~~ four groups: NDP, CP, Quaker and uncommitted, since the split there has been no evidence of any Liberals or Toriesin VOW. I haven't beep able to detect any factions other than the CP who completely underwrite the leadership's un-political line. VOW calls itself an all-inclusive movement and is. There has never been any evidence of red-baiting or exclusion.

4. There is an energetic educational program being started within VOW making it easy to put forward our ideas on various political events. There is another characteristic which is important to realize ~~that-of-a-s~~ VOW tends to be a feminist grouping. VOW represents a desire of independent political activity away from the domination of the male in all other spheres of life. This organization represents generally the most advanced Canadian women and in this context represents and area that we must be sensitive to. One of the main drawbacks is its lack of organizational efficiency, this hamstrings it in all sorts of ways making dreary meetings, few public meetings, hardly any attempt at recruiting new members and even less in retaining the old. There semms to some effort at overcoming this and there is pressure from the membership for more public meetings.

5. In view of the generally low political level the prime task is to seen in terms of being intergrated in VOW.~~as-a~~ To put forward our ideas and try to redirect the movement along more political lines instead of the "do-good" lines it runs on now. VOW should be seen in transitional terms for our contacts. Those contacts who have not had sufficient experience and political understanding to feel confident

in other activities and because of the educational value in attending VOW meetings in addition to our activities should be channelled into VOW. Comrades should participate according to what she can put into it and getout of it. For example Sands and Kendall being busy in more important areas of work cannot put much effort in to it. However Leboussiere who is forming a VOW club in conjunction with the UAW left-wing caucus and the NDP would achieve great benefit out of really attempting to build. it. VOW should be seen as an organization from which to channel people into FOC and the NDP and as an area to spread our ideas.

Specifically those women who are contacts by virtue of their relationship to some member of the LSA should be encouraged to join VOW as a method of introducing them to political ideas. We feel that they should participate on the same level as the comrades and that they should also be as active in other arenas as possible

October 28, 1964

Montreal

Dear Dick

I have just received a note from Paris

They say that there are a couple of new editions of Trotsky wirtings just out that you would probably be interested in obtaining

Litterature et Revolution (Editeur Julliard) cloth I gather

Terrorisme et Communisme (Editions 10/18)
La Revolution permanente (Collection Idees,chez Gallimard both paper I take it

"The last two are cheap, in France about $1 each. I surmise that there is a branch of 'Hachette', and it would be easy for your bookshop to obtain them."

With regards to our discussion of your document....and my comments that it was lacking in an economic analysis...and you agreement that adjustments would be made . I have now had an opportunity to read it—not study it seriously but read it through. I am now doubtful about the practicability of making the addition such as I visulized. Primarily because the document doesn't lend itself to the additions I had in mind., it seems to me. As I continued to go through it I kept thinking just where it could be inserted, and I never came to any conclusion thuxkas to where it could be appropriately inserted.

I seems that I had my own idea as to what this document would be and it actually is quite different. It is as you say"notes", which assume as lot of basic ideas. I think that it is very good—a very valuable contribution to the discussion we must have really puting everyone in the picture. But we still need a document that is more academic, a document that xxxxxxxx lays down our basic position. At lot of it is here but there is consider-ble other material which would really be ancillary it seems to me to what I had in mind.

I intend to study your document over the weekend. But you are really familiar with it. Do you see the additions and where they might go. If you think so then why make them and send them in right away so I can get the whole t ing on stencils and run off. But if you share my doubts-upon thinking the matter over then why dont we leave the document as is—send it out and then end up after the discussion with an additional document which I have in mind.

warmest regards

Ross

WORKERS Vanguard #101 - Oct. 1964

Students Heighten Interest In Cuba

There is a new wave of interest in Cuba, in the problems and achievements of the socialist revolution developing there. This is being demonstrated in part by the response to the enthusiasm shown by Canadians who have recently returned from visiting Cuba — particularly the enthusiasm of the 45 students from university campuses across the country who participated in a two month long work-tour of Cuba this summer under the auspices of the Cuban government and organized by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Immediately upon their return four young men and two young women from among the 45 packed the Toronto Barclay Hotel banquet room with a meeting sponsored by the Toronto FPCC chapter and emceed by the committee's national chairman, Vernel Olson. The biggest Vanguard Forum of the season was addressed by one of the returning students, Hans Modlich, whose report was supplemented from the floor by another one of the students, Moira Scammel.

Plans are well underway for the organization of an effective Student Committee on Cuban Affairs at the University of British Columbia with Brian Belfont recently returned from a year of study in Cuba, and those students of the 45 who attend UBC sparking it. Reports are that last term's committees will undergo a big revival and at many points where none existed before committees will be organized. Seven of the students at the University of Toronto will participate in a panel discussion, with Professor McCurdy as moderator, to be held on October 22.

The Vancouver chapter of the FPCC, under the intiative of Ken Orchard, set up a booth at the widely attended Pacific National Exhibition. Colorfully decorated with Cuban posters and photographs of various projects, the booth attracted considerable attention and established many new contacts. Over $120 worth of low priced pamphlets were sold and large quantities of leaflet material passed out.

An attempt by the Toronto chapter to obtain permission to open a booth at the Canadian National Exhibition was frustrated by officials.

Joseph Meslin, an international representative of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, who was an invitado to the July 26 celebrations this year in Santiago de Cuba, addressed a large and interested audience at the Workmen's Circle camp in Pickering. A guest column on some of his impressions has appeared in the official publication of the New Fraternal Jewish Association. Reg Bullock, another invitado, and a leading activist in the Vancouver local of the Marine and Shipyard Workers union, was the featured speaker to a good gathering at a house social in Richmond to welcome the Vancouver area students back from Cuba.

The big dailies, with only one or two exceptions, kept coverage of the student tour down to a minimum but the widely read BC **Western Pulp and Paper Worker** carried a full page report written by student Bonnie Erickson in its September issue. The August 31 issue of **Candor**, published by the Saskatchewan Young Democrats, carried a lengthy and enthusiastic letter from Gordon Cegger written while he was in Santiago. The first of a series of three articles by Brian Rands on his experiences this summer appeared in the September 23rd issue of the **Prairie New Democrat Commonwealth.**

All the major campus papers will be carrying interviews with the students or feature articles written by them which will do much to acquaint important layers of Canadian youth with the truth about the achievements of the Cuban socialist revolution.

WORKERS Vanguard #101-Oct. 1964

NDP Victory in Riverdale Heralds New Possibilities

The Riverdale by-election was a real win for the NDP. The resulting defeat of Charles Templeton, which in turn lost him the leadership of the Ontario Liberal Party, was an important victory. It was no accident that the influential Toronto **Star**, with its continuous, skilful, demagogic campaign for the liquidation of the NDP into the capitalist Liberal Party, went all out for Templeton. As long as the liberal-reformist policies of the present NDP leadership dominate the party such slick hucksters as Templeton present a real threat to the nascent labor party.

Riverdale is perhaps the most soldily working class riding in the Toronto area and on two occasions sent CCFers to the Ontario house. Victory there has now put the entire eastern half of Toronto in the NDP column.

Despite the working class character of the riding the party leadership promoted as candidate the most old school tie-ish character it could possibly find — a company lawyer, a former executive of the Canadian Club, a governor of the Canadian Tax Foundation, and past president of the U.T.S. Old Boys Association. But one commentator noted that a leaflet addressed to Italians in the community "particularly stressed the party rather than the candidate because an enterprising researcher had discovered that ballot papers in Italy carry only the name of the party."

It wasn't just personal modesty that caused NDPer James Renwick to attribute his victory to party voting. That was also the sophisticated Charles Templeton's election night reaction; "We did everything we could", he said, "The people wanted the NDP in this riding and they got their choice."

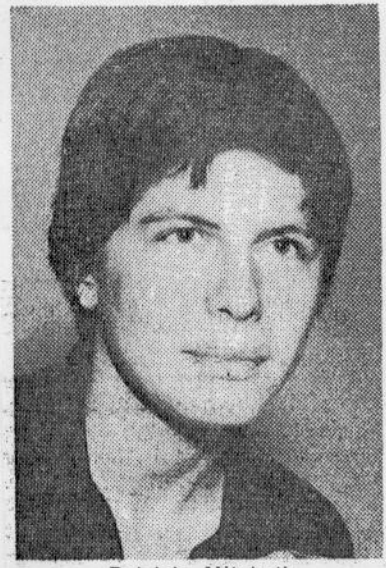
The highest cost to the NDP of its whole rightward reformist course and the leadership's incessant witch-hunt of the socialists, has been the loss of active, effective cadre. Fortunately this single by-election in the heart of Toronto could draw on what activists there are from right across the city. The NDP was able to appear as a real alternative to the Liberals and Tories, and workers responded by going to the polls to vote. With a 9% increase in turnout the NDP vote rose 3½ thousand over last poll.

This election victory comes at a good time. There is little doubt that it will serve to halt the continued decline that the NDP has suffered over the last couple of years. It can serve as the basis for new gains for the party on the way to its forming a government in the Ontario and the Ottawa house.

Toronto LSA To Run For Mayor, Controller

It now seems certain that the League for Socialist Action will run Ross Dowson for the office of mayor and Patricia Mitchell for one of the four controllers to be voted on in the coming Toronto municipal elections.

In a statement to the press Mrs. Mitchell said that "the British Labour Party victory, added to the NDP Toronto Riverdale by-election win, should inspire the Toronto district labor movement to present a complete slate to the electorate this December. We of the LSA are confident that a labor slate can sweep the Liberals and Tories out of city hall, and the situation is extremely favorable to make a real breakthrough this year. This is an urgent necessity and the League is prepared to make a big contribution should the leadership of the labor movement not measure up to this responsibility."



Patricia Mitchell

If it fails to contest these leading posts, as now appears clear, the League has asked the Toronto and District Labor Council to endorse both Dowson for mayor and Mitchell for controller. Mrs. Mitchell is the organizer of the Toronto LSA and Mr. Dowson, who has contested the mayoralty on previous occasions is the League's national secretary. The October 17 NDP Metro Council meeting came and went without presenting or endorsing any candidate higher than alderman. As the November 2 labor council meeting approaches the only rumours about are concerning endorsation of Mayor Givens or mayoralty aspirant Controller Lamport, as if there were any choice between these two well-known Liberals.

The LSA lauched its campaign with strong efforts to encourage the organized labor movement and its political arm, the NDP, to run a "Labor Mayor Heading up

(See Page 3 — TORONTO)

Ross Dowson

WORKERS Vanguard

#102 - Oct. 1964

LSA Names Reg Bullock For Mayor of North Van

By E. Tate

VANCOUVER—"The long domination of city affairs by adherents of the old line political machines must be broken by supporters of the labor movement," stated Reg Bullock, a well known trade-unionist and socialist, when he announced that he was entering the November 13 mayoralty campaign in North Vancouver.

Mr. Bullock, a leading activist in the Marine Workers and Boilermakers Industrial Union, and a long time delegate to the Vancouver Labour Council, received public attention recently when he was expelled from the NDP. He was charged, along with his wife Ruth, with being associated with the Vancouver League for Socialist Action.

In announcing his candidacy, Bullock said he will campaign for the equalization of taxation—for relieving the small homeowner of the increasingly heavy property taxes, and for increasing taxes on several of the large manufacturing concerns in the city.

He pointed out that "the city's Big Business-oriented administration makes it virtually impossible for anyone to discover how the tax burden is distributed and who in the community is paying what." He would make such information public.

He has given his support to the leaders of Local 217 of the International Woodworkers of America who are protesting the projected closing down of two sawmills on the waterfront to make way for the construction of a grain elevator. The mill closure will lay off 300 men.

The announcement by Bullock that he is running for mayor comes when there are more voices in the trade-union movement urging that labor take a more active role in municipal politics. The recently concluded convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labour endorsed a resolution calling for more participation by the unions in this field.

Federation Secretary-Treasurer Pat O'Neal said boards of trade and chambers of commerce now get grants from local authorities and the money is used to conduct anti-labor campaigns. "This is our money, as taxpayers, being used for these purposes," he said. "It's time labor began to have more influence in municipal politics."

Whether this is just talk by O'Neal, for popular consumption, or whether it's preparation for meaningful action remains to be seen. But his statements are in striking contrast to a directive which is reliably reported to be in the NDP provincial executive minutes forbidding party members to use the NDP label in municipal campaigns. The NDP has yet to seriously get into this area. Instead it generally goes along with the concept that civic politics are "non-partison."

The same BC Federation of Labour convention also called for a changing of the Vancouver municipal election laws — laws which will go down in history as possibly the most reactionary in the country. Big business ensures its continuous domination by making it all but impossible for

(See Page 4 — NORTH VAN)

North Van

(Continued From Page 1)

a working class candidate to get elected.

For instance candidates for any office must own property and be on what is called the owners-electors list for two consecutive years. In order to remain on the voters list one has to have voted in the previous election. If you didn't, you are automatically eliminated, and in order to get back on you have to register in the following year — in a two week period at the end of September.

The whole city electoral setup is a studied procedure in officially encouraging apathy to ensure that only the middle class and property owners will cast their ballots.

Reg Bullock sees his campaign in North Vancouver as pointing the way for the trade union movement to practice independent political action in civic politics in the whole lower mainland area. He has scored the use of police and police dogs in a recent Vancouver strike. A labor mayor there, as chief magistrate, he said, could intervene and make such strikebreaking actions impossible.

Bullock's candidacy offers all activists in the labor movement an opportunity to get into the campaign and to make a contribution towards establishing the working class as the dominant force in a crucial area of everyday political life.

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WORKERS Vanguard #102 - Oct. 1964

Forum Hears SNCC, Typos, Speakers on Trotsky Book

The entire collection of the Toronto Vanguard Friday night Forum of October 2, forty eight dollars and seventy four cents, was turned over to the Friends of SNCC, University of Toronto. This was in response to an excellent report by Bob Johnston of his summer's experience in Mississippi with activists in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee campaign to get Negroes on the voters list.

Mr. Johnston returned to Toronto in order to recruit volunteers for next summer's civil rights drive, inform Canadians about the struggle, and raise $20,000 to help those still in the fight in Mississippi. The discussion which followed his address ranged widely over the question of non-violence and self-defence, not just as related to the Negro struggle in the U.S. but the struggle for social progress generally.

Jim Buller, executive member of the Toronto International Typographical Workers local, Allied Printing Trades Council, and delegate to the labor council, was assigned by his union to address the Vanguard Forum of October 9. He outlined the main issues in the 14 week old strike that the Typos and Mailers have been locked in with the Big Three newspaper bosses. Automation and its application for the benefit of mankind, and not profiteering, was the big issue in this strike, he emphasized.

Many of the audience who have participated in demonstrations in support of the strikers took advantage of the opportunity provided by the forum to carry on a fraternal discussion on the strategy of the strike. The broad social implications of the typos struggle, its essential political character involving the public ownership of big industry and its operation for use, not profit, were expressed. One of the audience stated that he, and he was sure others were waiting the Typos' call to close down all three papers.

Ross Dowson was slated to address the October 16 forum with a review of the new Dell pocket book **The Age of Permanent Revolution—a Trotsky anthology.** He suggested that in view of the British Labour Party victory, the Chinese testing of a nuclear device and the downgrading of Khrushchev in the last 24 hours, one might consider it best to put aside such an academic project as a book review. But he said a review of this vitally important book was highly appropriate in order to grasp and understand the significance of all these developments. And to this reporter, with reference to various sections of Trotsky's writings and appropriate comments, he showed the extreme relevancy of Trotsky's ideas.

file copy - Rotuen next Mail

Sunday November 9,1964

Montreal

Dear Comrades;

Maheu left last night via sleeper after a very intense round of meetings her I would say that the three days that he was here were a success on all counts.

All the meetings arranged for him were good--- U of T Socialist club meeting attracted over 100, the Waterloo socialist meeting organized by Bob attracted 35, York 35 to 40, the YSF meeting on Satuaday afternoon about 40 and the LSA meeting at the Carpenters Hall about 75. Pat did any excellent job of administering it all and we got time on CJBC(French) time on CHUM, and perhaps biggest of all the chief programmers for This Hour Has Seven Days interviewd him on Saturday--video tape--for a program schduled not far off. He will be appearing along with Rene Leveque

As you can imagine all this hustle and bustle, this speaking and interviewin did not leave much time for us to spend with him. But even this obviously impressed him---that we are highly organized, that we are dynamic that we are youthful and that we can deploy relatively effective forces.

I had supper with him twice and on Saturday evening beforafter his interview with CBC and before his catching his train we had a small gaterhing and discussi o at High and Claire's. I also had a short talk with him following our meeting Of course Pat had many opportunities as did Hans who took him to Waterloo and others. On the Saturday night we introduced him to Vern O

He was visibly impressed by the movement here and and very openly identified himself with us. The comrades were satisfied with his various speeches. I of cour only hear one. It was on a lower theoretical plane than I had anticipated, somewhat academic and lecturish but as other comrades comme ented about other speeches there was nothing we would disagree with. I gather his first speech was from his own comments was a bit too formal a Marxist analysis of the class force: in Quebec.

In answer to some questions at the LSA meeting he revealed that he has a tendency to consider Stalinism and Maoism as ancestrain inevitable product of a revolution in an underdeveloped economy attempting the necessary industrialis- ation. He characterized the Maoist regime as authoritarian. It was apparent at our meeting that parti pris has not got a program although it appears t to have an analysis with which we are in substantial agreement. I think that thi: is something we should attempt to remedy in our periodical--we might even transl: some of the discussions with the old man on the transitional demands.

He immediately grasp the idea of a Fair Play for Quebec Committee and we he: up the press release with comments on this--Bea Bryant leading her name(maiden name) for this purpose. He has no connections but we will be getting this projec underway. Foisy loaned litureature for the meeting and came hiself but Pierre tended to dismiss him.

We are going to arrange it through the Ambassador and Julia that he will go to Cuba first chance---he is very anxious to go. He asked about the committee in Montreal in passing. I suggested that it would be a very good idea if the

parti pris club with the young people from there who were on the student tour along with the help of Fair Play organised a ~~meeting~~ public meeting. I also told him of the exhibit of photos that will be coming up from Cuba shortly and asked him if it would be possible to have a showing --a joint affiar of parti pris and Fair Play(amis de peuple cubains). He seems interested

He was much impressed by our book store and when I told him that we had opened up one in Vancouver he asked me why we did not open one in Montreal. I turned the question. I ~~answer~~ told him that we thought that parti pris should do this. He then told me that they were seriously considering doing this--that they have a highly qualified comrade and we had a freindly discussion on some of the problems.

Oh yes I had one short discussion with him on the importance of the internationa question. He told me that parti pris and Socialisne 64 had a sort of division of lab that the latter was strong on the international question while they were on the nati ~~xxxx

WORKERS Vanguard

#103—Nov. 1964

Bullock Labor Candidate for Mayor in North Van

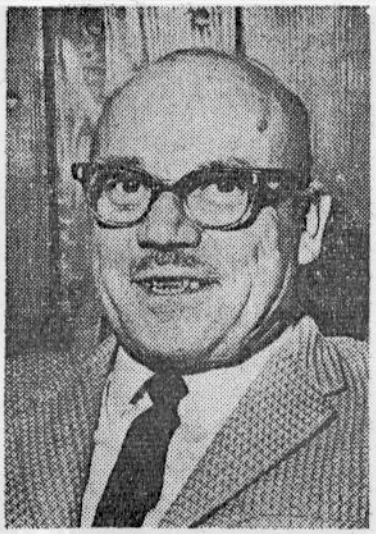
By. E. Tate

Reg Bullock's campaign for the mayoralty position in North Vancouver in the by-election on November 13 moved into high gear this week with the publishing of his program in leaflet form. Volunteers are busily pushing the leaflets through the letterboxes of every home in the municipality. Distributions are being made at plant gates. A campaign is underway to put posters all over the city, especially along the bus routes.

Bullock, who is running as an independent labor candidate, received endorsation by his local of the Marine and Boilermakers Union at its regular membership meeting on November 2. The North Shore Lonsdale New Democratic Party club has given a financial donation towards the cost of his campaign.

Since Bullock announced his candidacy for the by-election (caused by the death of Bill Angus, the elected mayor) there have been several other nominations from the labor movement for the aldermanic positions left open when councillors resigned to run for mayor. This may give North Vancouver voters the opportunity to vote for a partial labor slate. Frank Marcino, North Vancouver New Democratic Party member and activist in the Street and Railwaymens union, is running under the auspices of the North Vancouver Labour Committee. Also in the field is Russ McKibbon of the International Woodworkers of America. He is running as an independent candidate.

Support from an unexpected quarter came to Reg Bullock when Pat Burns, of the popular West Coast "open-line" radio program, came out and stated to his listeners that the only person he could see voting for was Bullock. Burns is a Liberal.



The above photo of Reg Bullock appeared on his election campaign leaflet headed—For a LABOR MAYOR elect Reg Bullock — Mayor — North Vancouver VOTE SOCIALIST.

A preamble calls upon the electortate to reject those candidates, usually business men, landlords and real estate agents, who do not disclose their political affiliation and foster the myth that municipal politics are non-partisan. It appeals to working people to vote for a candidate who is one of themselves, and put labor into City Hall.

The leaflet outlines a program. For the elimination of property restrictions on the vote—and the vote for all over 18 years of age. For the extension of public transportation in the direction of free urban mass transportation: For the opening to public examination of all the tax records, the province to take over education costs, and the mobilization of pressure on the federal government for low rental housing, increased health, welfare and pension benefits through curtailment of arms expenditures. For the union label on all civic contracts, etc.

A short biographical sketch states that Bullock is an active unionist and a delegate from the Boilermakers on the Vancouver Labor Council. He is also a long time socialist—for a period in the Thirties, provincial organizer of the BC CCF.

for Controller

LSA sponsored Pat Mitchell

only choice

Mayoralty candidate DOWSON

Toronto Readers

Meet the League for Socialist Action Sponsored Candidates for

MAYOR
Ross Dowson

BOARD OF CONTROL
Patricia Mitchell

at a Social Evening

● **SATURDAY, December 5 at 8:30 p.m.** ●

THE CO-OP HALL,
846A Pape Avenue, North of Danforth

WORKERS Vanguard #103 - Nov. 1964

Editor Extols Que. Cause Before Toronto Audience

Quebec's socialist independentist forces got their best hearing yet in English-speaking Canada through the efforts of Pierre Maheu.

In a whirlwind campaign the youthful co-editor of **Parti Pris** addressed, over the three day period of November 6, 7, 8, three university campus meetings, two public meetings, was interviewed by the U of T **Varsity**, spoke over radio stations CHUM, CJBC and on CBL's Trans-Canada Matinee, and was video-taped by the staff of the controversial CBC TV program This Hour Has Seven Days for a projected program which will also contain an interview with Quebec cabinet minister Réné Levesque.

What was a highly successful first meeting of the Socialist Club was held for Mr. Maheu on the University of Waterloo campus. The U of T Socialist Club meeting broke its attendance record with almost 100 present to hear Maheu. The York University meeting, one of its best yet, attracted about 35 students. A meeting on the Toronto campus under the joint auspices of the U of T Socialist Club and the **Young Socialist Forum**, directed towards high school students, attracted some 40 youth, most of them girls sporting anti-nuclear arms buttons.

Maheu addressed the Vanguard Forum sponsored by the League for Socialist Action. In answer to a question from one of the audience of about 75 persons he explained that **Parti Pris** is composed of a group of the younger generation of Quebec who were writers, not political people. The revolution was already there and it drafted us—we had to become serious and get into action. Not only publish our magazine but build an organization.

Chairman and LSA Board of Control candidate, Patricia Mitchell, pointed out that just a few days prior to the meeting **Parti Pris** had been subjected to a slanderous attack by the Quebec Provincial Secretary, Bona Arsenault. All seven staff members of the 4 newspapers published by the Catholic Student Youth Movement resigned en bloc when forced to cease publication of a serialized novel by André Major, a frequent contributor to **Parti Pris.**

During Pierre Maheu's visit to Toronto contact was established which it is hoped will lead to the formation of a committee in English-speaking Canada that will publicize the viewpoint of the Quebec independentist movement through arranging for speakers and the circulation in English of documents and statements reporting the struggle of the French-Canadian people. Persons interested in this project are asked to contact Mrs. B. LaFreniere, 408 Osiris Drive, Richmond Hill, Ont.

Three Cuba Visitors Inspire Largest FPCC Banquet Yet

"One of the most exciting experiences of my life," said Dr. Americo Cruz, Cuba's ambassador to Canada, of this year's banquet organized by the Toronto chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

These words, said by the ambassador in his few comments at the close of the formal program, expressed the feelings of the more than 275 Torontonians who gathered to celebrate the Cuban revolution at this annual event. It was bigger and better than ever before.

The founder and national chairman of the committee, Vernel Olson, emceed the program which featured three speakers all of whom had recently visited Cuba. Joe Meslin, an international representative of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, AFL-CIO, made a stirring oration during which he branded as vicious lies the many reports of Cubans starving and languishing under an oppressive totalitarian rule.

He commented on how he had had to brush aside considerable pressure that other union leaders had brought to bear on him not to accept an invitation to go to Cuba. In broad strokes he sketched some of the unforgetable experiences of his visit over the period of the July 26 celebrations. He commented on the vibrant democratic spirit in Cuba in contrast to the sad situation now generally recognized to exist in other sectors of the non-capitalist world. "My only regret," he said, "is that I could not bottle the spirit, determination, and idealism, I found in Cuba and bring it back here."

It was obvious that Meslin, and most certainly Gregory Rickerby, did bring some of that spirit back with him. Rickerby had been seated at the head table with several others of the 45 students who visited Cuba this summer on a work project. A graduate in library science and a member of the Student Christian Movement, he said that "many of us didn't consider these words like Marxism-Leninism and Revolution — didn't know what these words meant. While we were there the feeling grew on us — the idea of a planned economy, a people's government, care according to need."

Edith Guild, lecturer in Spanish at York University, and one of the committee of educationalists who selected the volunteer students, made some poignant observations. Above all she was impressed by the great humanitarian achievements of the revolution and the rapport between the Castro leadership and the peasants and workers who carried out the revolution, and now the entire population who completely identify themselves with its defence and development.

Dr. Cruz, in his few remarks at the close of the program, firmly identified his government with the world-wide fight for freedom. "Now is the time to fight—only through fight will the people win their freedom," he said. He noted in particlar the presence of several Spanish workers and expressed special pleasure about the response of the Canadian students to their tour of Cuba. "We only made it possible for them to go. I am happy that they saw for themselves that we are trying to develop a more humane society—more democracy."

At the close of the banquet-supper the crowd moved into the ballroom where they danced to an excellent orchestra and were entertained by three singers—friends of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

at the head table

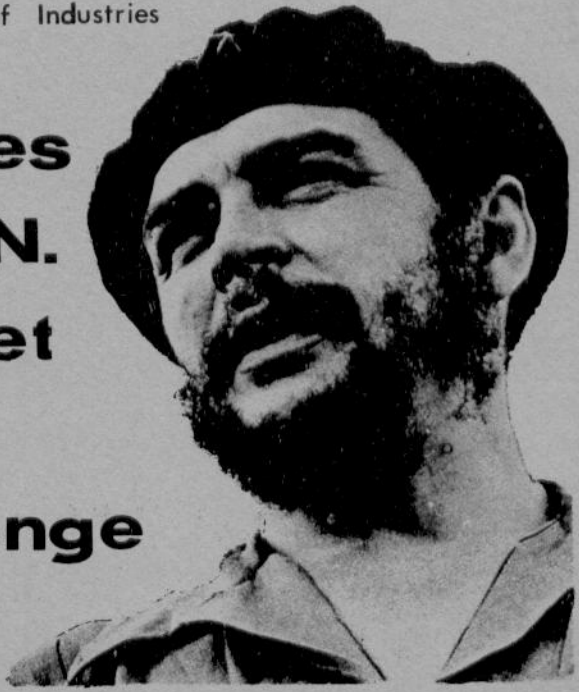
photo by L. Olson

The banquet head table, from left to right: Dr. Cruz, Vernel Olson (hidden), Gregory Rickerby, Edith Guild and Joseph Meslin.

Dec. 11, 1964

'CHE' GUEVARA

Cuba's Minister of Industries



Charges the U.N. to meet the challenge of imperialism

SPEECHES BY FIDEL CASTRO

Cuba Confronts The Future, *January 2, 1964* .35

The Road To Revolution In Latin America, *26th of July speech, 1963* .50

Our Line Is The Line Of Consistent Anti-Imperialism, *Sept. 28, 1963* .15

Against Sectarianism, *March 26, 1962* .25

Congress Of Women Speech, Fourth Anniversary Speech, *January, 1963* .25

Ninth Anniversary Of The 26th Of July, *July, 1963* .25

Castro Speaks On Unemployment, Fidel Speaks To The Youth, *March 13, 1962* .15

Fidel Castro At The United Nations, *Sept. 26, 1960* .50

The Second Declaration Of Havana, *Feb. 4, 1962* .25

order from

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

165 Spadina Ave.,

Toronto 2B, Ont.

Phone 364-9521

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#104-Dec. 1964

NPA Monopoly of Van. Council Cracked by NDP

E. Tate

The only candidate to make a dent in the monopoly of the Non Partisan Association, the Liberal-Socred-Tory coalition, over city hall, in the December 9 municipal elections, was the president of the Vancouver East NDP constituency association, Robert Williams. He polled a vote of 32,168 to win a place on city council.

Williams ran wth the endorsation of the so-called "non political" Civic Action Association which tended to obscure who he represented. But it was clear to most that it was NDP activists and the labor movement who were behind his campaign. Harry Rankin, a lawyer prominently identified with labor causes, increased his vote considerably, but just missed out from getting on the six man council. William Stewart, Vancouver secretary of the Communist Party ran 15th and Alex Ferguson, a well-known NDP left winger, ran 16th in the 17 man contest.

There have been increased murmurings of dissatisfaction from widening circles within the NDP over the party's absententionist policy in the civic field. This was particularly manifested within the party's lower mainland municipal committee where a large minority expressed itself as being in favor of direct NDP participation. Arthur Turner, MLA, openly identified himself with this policy.

In order to head off individual constituencies who might be preparing on their own iniative to go ahead and run in the election, the provincial office of the party issued an order forbidding anyone to use the party label. Vancouver Burrard NDP endorsed both Williams, and another Burrard NDP member, Alex Fergusson. Fergusson, campaigning as an independent, came out against police harassment of strikers and their use of dogs against pickets.

Commenting on the endorsations, Alex McDonald, NDP MLA, and vice president of the provincial NDP, stated that the New Democratic Party plans to enter the civic arena on a large scale. "These endorsments are the beginning of it", he said.

Even though his campaign literature tended to be innocuous — his main campaign slogan was "For a Better City" — and didn't go much further than liberal reforms, Williams still made a fair exposure of the real-estate control in city hall and he high-lighted the unfair taxation structures which favor Big Business. His leaflet reproduced a letter of endorsation from Grace McInnis, prominent NDP member. Also displayed was his endorsement by the Vancouver and District Labour Council.

The Non Partisan Association, whose slate the NDPer broke, has been dominant at city hall since 1938 when it was organized for the specific purpose of defeating the CCF which at that time had a majority on council and elected a mayor. The CCF gave up running under its own name in 1954 and instead urged support for the Civic Action Association.

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 9, No. 8 (104) December, 1964 Toronto — Price 10 cents

-Belgian Action Against Congo
vokes World-Wide Protests

at hall of the United
s been resounding with
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rom the newly inde-
frican and Asian na-
the US-Belgian para-
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nds for an end to im-
ntervention.

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and so overwhelming
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Minister Paul-Henri
tested that he had not
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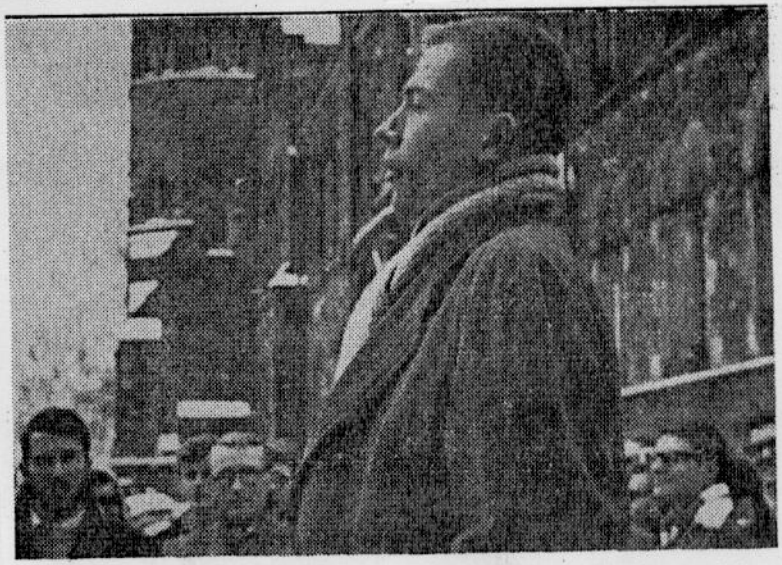
ypocrisy attempted to
opponents as racists.
rotests came not only
ds of African states.

casted a joint leaflet bearing for the first time the signatures of both the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow Communist youth tendencies. The demonstration called for in the leaflet was banned by the government. Resolutions of opposition to the government were passed by the teachers union in Brussels, the Liege federations of Communist and Socialist students, and another sector of Cockerill Ougree, as well as at A.C.E.C., the big Charleroi plant.

In addition a solidarity action is underway to support Congolese students who are threatened with expulsion from the country. The Congolese student organization (Union Generale des Etudiants Congolais) issued a statement denouncing the Belgian-American military intervention on behalf of Tshombe. Because of this the Belgian government has revoked

(See Page 4—US-BELGIAN)



University of Toronto students listening to vice-president of the Socialist Club, Hans Modlich, back up the demand that all foreign troops and mercenaries be withdrawn from the Congo. The crowd of some 200 responded to a leaflet distributed throughout the country's largest campus.

WORKERS Vanguard #104-Dec 1964

Hail La Lutte Ouvriere! New Que. Socialist Press

by A. Brown

Last month a new voice on the Quebec left was heard. **La Lutte Ouvrière**. (Workers' Struggle) is the official organ of La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. But it is more than just another one of the many journals now originating in Montreal. For in addition to the fresh Marxist outlook and analysis it brings to the French Canadian national situation, it has an internationalist perspective. It clearly feels that the new radical currents there have much to learn from the workers' movement outside their own nation—both from the movement's past history and its present struggles.

It is for this reason that the publication announced the open meeting held by the LSO on Dec. 6 for Clifton DeBerry, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Presidency of the United States in the past elections. (DeBerry was the first Negro ever to run for this post.) For this reason also **La Lutte Ouvrière** reprints the full text of the declaration of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on Khrushchev's dismissal.

An article "Violence and the Capitalist State" declares that volence is inherent in class society, that the instruments of bourgeois rule, the police, army, etc. are fundamentally responsible for violence which will only disappear with the abolition of classes and the state. The author rejects individual counter-violence

(See Page 4 — LA LUTTE)

LA LUTTE OUVIERE

(Continued From Page 1)

or terror, as a means of struggle. "The violence of a small group is temporary and minor compared to that of the bourgeoisie for who it is inherent, organized and effective; effective as long as the masses do not rise against it with disciplined and organized actions."

In his clear and careful examination of the role of immigrants in Quebec society, M. Bourhis demonstrates that they are not basically enemies of French nationalism. They are workers, like the overwhelming majority of the Quebec population; they constitute the most exploited sector of this working class with much to contribute to the Quebec nationalist movement.

The lead article of the issue is written by J. Richard. It is a contribution to the discussion raging among nationalist circles over the question of the nature of the Lesage government, and the tasks of the Quebec left. Some elements in the **Parti Pris** grouping, among them Jean-Marc Piotte writing in the November issue, plan to give the Lesage government critical support. In doing so they hope to enlarge the division between the progressive and reactionary wings of the Quebec bourgeoisie, and to aid the former in its struggle "to eliminate all the vestiges of feudalism in Quebec." At some unspecified time in the future they project that the left would break with this "progressive" bourgeoisie, and make the socialist revolution.

Richard examines the dangerous errors inherent in such a policy. The measures of the Lesage government are an attempt to enlarge the scope of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie vis-a-vis U.S. and Anglo-Canadian capital. For these measures Lesage has the support of all major sectors of the Quebec ruling class. But the attempt is doomed to failure, because of the stranglehold which foreign capital has on the Quebec economy. This stranglehold forces the Quebec rulers, in order to serve their own immediate needs, into a continuing series of temporary alliances with these same foreign interests.

The workers certainly will support the Lesage government in its attempt to industrialize and modernize Quebec. But they continue to press on it from the left. And precisely because the struggle for these elementary rights and reforms comes so late in history, the struggle overflows its bourgeois limits, and becomes tied to the working-class struggle. The only real solution, socialism comes to the fore.

Recent Quebec developments bear out this analysis. To mention a few examples: the threat of a general strike against "Bill 54" the militant demonstrations by both students and small farmers and the strike at **La Presse** and **Le Soleil**.

Richard ends his analysis with the call to all Quebec revolutionaries for the formation of the vehicle of the coming socialist revolution in that nation, a revolutionary party. He asserts that "The real task is . . . the setting into motion of the concrete organization of a revolutionary party."

Socialists across Canada hail the LSO as well as its new voice **La Lutte Ouvrière** which brings the light of creative Marxism to bear on the current ferment in Quebec. It is a valuable contribution to this discussion. It is an important step towards the formation of a mass revolutionary socialist party there. Only such an organization, a genuine voice of the French-Canadian working class, can solve the problems facing that nation.

Subscriptions to **La Lutte Ouvrière** cost $1.00 for ten issues and may be obtained from 62 oeust, rue Guilbault, Montreal 18, Quebec.

Withdraw Troops in Vietnam Demands Toronto Picketline

bloody record

An idea of the monstrous crimes that are being committed in the name of freedom in South Vietnam can be gained from the 6 page dossier of facts and figures that have been compiled by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of England. The figures are considered conservative as they were compiled before mid-1963.

Numbers killed by late 1962; 100,000 - - - 40,000 in 1962 alone.

Numbers held in camps designated "concentration camps": over 5,000,000 by mid-1962. The number of students so held by late 1962; 45,000. The number of secret police; 300,000 by mid-1963.

Number of people in strategic hamlets by mid-1963; over 6,000,000. They are described as concentration camps with spikes, moats, machine-gun turrets, forced labor, and patrols.

Some 70 Torontonians mounted a picket demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam in front of the U.S. Consulate on December 19. Despite the sharp cold many later joined another picket just off the U of T campus.

Various pieces of literature were handed out. League for Socialist Action supporters circulated an appeal adopted by the International Conference on Soldarity with the People of Vietnam held in Hanoi November 30 and addressed to the American people. The LSA pointed out that the Canadian government is party to the U.S. atrocities through the failure of its representatives on the commission struck off to supervise the Geneva Agreement to protest the U.S. power build-up.

Spokesmen for the CUCND informed police that they had no intention of submitting their picket signs to their scrutiny beforehand, as required by a recently passed by-law — and that they were prepared to go to jail. Police officials said that they would enforce the by-law but explained their failure to do so on the basis that the picket was less than 50, although the press recorded a total of about 100 participants.

freedom marches

The unconquerable spirit of the Vietnamese freedom struggle is demonstrated by a report released by the South Vietnam Liberation Press Agency covering the first nine months of 1963.

Nearly 2,000,000 people were liberated — the freedom fighters destroyed 3,137 strategic hamlets, and liberated 196 villages, 505 hamlets and 9 towns. Enemy troops were compelled to withdraw from 1,256 military strongholds and posts.

Casualties among the American "advisers" of the puppet government were listed as 1,625, more than twice the figure for the entire previous year.

Where the Vietnam freedom fighters get their weapons was indicated by the fact that during the nine months they seized 11,770 pieces from the puppet government forces.

found in 1965

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

N.D.P. Socialist Caucus fact sheet

WAGE AND LABOUR DISCRIMINATION

1) One third of adult Canadian women are in the labour force.
2) Almost 30% of the whole labor force are women.
3) The 1st and 2nd World Wars destroyed the myths concerning which occupations were not suitable for women and they performed extremely well In the male occupational stronghold.
4) Women are considered the captive consumers of business interests, who perpetrate the traditional concept of family with the woman a home. A huge percentage of advertisements are geared to the woman In the home.e.g. MacFadden of MacFadden Publications Inc., in giving tips to advertisers on advertising strategy says,"...The wife of working class America looms as a massive ally for the national manufacturer." He goes on to say"show that you know that she is the family purchasing agent" and "Don't intimate that such a product will g ve her time to go out as this downgrades her personal worth as a housekeeper for the family" and " Women buy products to become part of the 'common man group'; the great mass of Americans that she considers as ideal and stable.
5) Not only are women's wages, on the whole lower than those of men, but their actual earnings are less;
   CENSUS TAKEN IN 1961 OF FEMALE WORKERS

   1) ½ of the earning group earned less than $1,000
   11) ½ earned less than $2,000
   111) 7% 4,000 or over

The comparison of men's and women's incomes idicates that incomes of individual men tend to be roughly double those of women.

6) There are virtually no day care centres available to those women who need them most, the working class mother.
7) Three provinces, Alberta, British Columbia and New Brunswick have laws of general application governing maternity leave for women workers.
8) Equal pay laws have been enacted in seven provinces; Alberta, British Columbia Nova Scotia, Ontario, P.E.I. and Saskatchewan. But it is almost impossible to contest violations as most women are not protected by unions and therefore the laws have been virtually not implemented.
   -The Federal Parliament passed equal pay legislation in 1956 for federal employees
9) In any case, work has to be evaluated whether it is equal or not to that of men. This makes it difficult for women in jobs geared specifically to women.
10) Minimum wage laws are the same for both sexes in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick and Quebec and Saskatchewan. By the end of 1965 there will be a minimum rate of $1 per hour in Ontario for both sexes.

DIVORCE

Adultery is the only grounds for divorce In Canada, even then it is expensive and a lengthy procedure. It is often beyond the means of many couples, forcing them to live together in a state which affects the social and emotional adjustment of both the couple and their children as the case may be.

ABORTION

The law decrees that no one shall terminate a pregnancy unless the actual physical life of the woman is in danger.
---established to protect the life of the unborn infant.
---philosophy that a minute piece of protoplasm is of more intrinsic importance than the well-being of the woman who bears it.

Which way for the Democratic Left?

Many who refer to themselves as the "Democratic Left" came to the New Democratic Party at the time of its founding. Some, in the less than three years experiance since then, have become disillusioned with its prospects as a vehicle of effective social change and are beginning to search for an alternative medium through which their ideals can materialize. With this in mind they are beginning to look for new paths, which surprisingly even include the Liberal Party or farmations that may develop around or within it, such as EPIC. But is there really any vehicle other than than the NDP--a changed NDP to be sure--but still the NDP, at this time?

THE LIBERAL RECORD

Certainly the Liberal Party offers no perspective for social change--and not for the want of tries before now. Progressives, ginger groups, and legions of others have had their bones picked clean by the Liberal political machine. It was only a year or so ago that Nobel Prize winner Lester Pearson without so much as a by-your-leave of the lower layers of the Liberal Party machine, and in violation of all his previous pledges, agreed to the nuclear armament of Canada (and with typical Liberal chicanery--that it was necessary in order to disarm). Now we have the Liberal White Paper which violates earlier promises of this year that Canada would move along the road toward complete and controlled disarmament with its proposals thatwill only increase the lethal power of Canadian forces per man, increase efficiency, and cut down the unit cost of killing. Have the Liberals even uttered a word of dissent about the U.S. State Departments sponsored overflights of Cuba, or of its blockade of the island, or of its endangering world peace in Vietnam? Is it merely an accident that whenever a serious effort is made by labor to improve its living standards and conditions, or a real move is made to put modern medical knowledge at the service of man, that a Smallwood or a Thatcher turns up holding the Liberal Party reins?

Despite all pretence to the contrary, the Liberal Party is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the Big Business interests which dominate the Canadian economy as Wall Street's junior partners.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE N.D.P.?

The trouble with the NDP is certainly not that the present leadership is caught up in class concepts, in formulae which some think to be long outdated. The NDP leadership has eschewed all this and has even cynically and brutally expelled many who, as we, advocate that a socialist orientation be adopted by the party.

The facts are that the NDP leadership has adopted holus bolus all the rhetoric of liberalism--to such an extent that programmatically it has become scarcely distinguishable from the Liberal Party and its twin the Progressive Conservative Party.

What is wrong with the NDP is not its strong association with the organized labor movement. This has brought in the union brass, and all the machinations that go with their line of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, more than the union membership. But this can only be overcome by the union rank and file being won into the party and their developing as a powerful force for a new leadership in the NDP. The worst error would beto throw out the labor baby with the bureaucratic bath water.

THE PERSPECTIVES

Is the "Democratic Left" to become an effective vehicle for social change? Then it cannot play around with the Liberal Party to become a transmission belt for policies that can only, through trickery and deception, end in taking Canada on U.S. coattails to nuclear destruction. Above all it must severely evaluate the first three years of the NDP, which more than anything have been a testing of its own probings and concepts. On the basis of our understanding of the past three years, the alternative is to grasp the critical, profoundly democratic, concepts of Marxism and apply them to Canada.

One thing is sure; whatever it has to offer, the Democratic Left can only achieve success by joining the labor and farm movements - the mass forces for progressive social change which are already firmly oriented to the NDP. Despite the NDP's serious shortcomings it remains, as a party, the only political vehicle through which the peoples' demands can be realized. By siding with labor's rank and file, supporting their demands, and by working with socialists and others in the NDP to formulate a program that will project a future that differs with the one big business has to offer, the Democratic Left has a meaningful role to play.

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Dialectique actuelle de la révolution mondiale

Brochure de La Quatième Internationale

‘’C’est là que l’on découvre la source de la sagesse politique des chefs de l’État chinois,’’ dit Mikhail Suslov qui fut un théoricien du régime de Stalin et qui est maintenant celui de la bureaucratie de l’U.R.S.S.

Dans son rapport au Comité central du Parti communiste de l’Union Soviétique, en Avril, Suslov demanda : ‘’Est-ce quelqu’un qui croit en l’originalité de la théorie chinoise disant que l’Asie, l’Afrique et l’Amérique latine présentent les conditions des plus propices à la révolution? Cette théorie est la répétition presque mot pour mot de l’une des principales thèses du trotskysme. On peut lire dans la déclaration de la 4ième Internationale (trotskyste) : ‘Le non-aboutissement de deux très importantes vagues révolutionnaires de 1919-23 et le 1943-48 et de celle moins importante de 1934-37 a fait que le foyer de la révolution mondiale s’est déplacé vers les colonies (p.2 de cette brochure). C’est là que l’on découvre la source de la sagesse politique des chefs de l’État chinois.’’

Suslov a dénoncé la théorie trotskyste de la révolution permanente. Le conflit à ce sujet est dune ‘’importance historique’’ et voilà que ‘’Les leaders chinois nous imposent un discussion sur ce thème.’’

Les leaders du parti communiste chinois ont évidemment adopté une sorte d’ersatz de la position trotskyste sur ce point. La période révolutionnaire de l’après-guerre où la 3ième révolution Chinoise eu lieu ainsi que la révolution à Cuba, en Algérie et à travers toute l’Afrique a révelé la justesse de la thèse trotskyste. Cela paraît évident à Suslov lorsqu’il lance son appel-semonce aux chefs chinois.

Le document auquel se réfère Suslov fut adopté par le Congrès de réunification de la 4ième international. Ce congrès tenu en Italie au mois de juin 1963 a refermé la brèche qui déchirait depuis dix ans le mouvement fondé par Léon Trotsky.

Nous faisons paraît ce document sous forme de brochure car nous croyons qu’il est l’écrit le plus significatif qui ait été produit depuis des années sur la question du développement de la révolution socialiste dans le monde. Nous y trouvons la réponse à des problèmes auxquels les leaders de la classe ouvrière doivent faire face : les rapports de force entre la révolution coloniale s’élevant constamment du plan national au plan socialiste, la vague montante de la révolution politique dans les états ouvriers qui tente de rejeter le régime bureaucratique et a rétablir la démocratie socialiste au sein de l’économie planifiée, et les forces de transformation sociale dans les régions du monde fortement industrialisées où le capitalisme règne.

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dialectique actuelle de la révolution mondiale

WORKERS Vanguard #105 - Jan. 1965

GUARDING THE U.S. - CANADIAN BORDER

By Ross Dowson

There are thousands of people seeking Canadian citizenship — some of them desperately. A few have been getting headlines — such persons as Joe Bananas, and Onofrio Minaudo, reputed Mafia leaders, who are revealed to have had attentive and even sympathetic consideration from the highest political and government circles of Ottawa—and the two Italian workers who were held in prison without charges or even a hearing for some eight months.

But the overwhelming majority of those seeking Canadian citizenship have resided many years in this country, raised families and, as they say, "been useful citizens." A few happen to be of the wrong color — their skins are black or yellow — and they are subject to Canada's shamelessly racist immigration laws. The government is not required to give any reason for withholding citizenship. But it is no secret that most are being deprived of citizenship in clear violation of their most basic civil rights—for the political opinions they hold or are alleged to hold.

Joseph Johnson, who has been hauled before the Minneapolis courts by U.S. immigration authorities, doesn't want Canadian citizenship. He wants to remain in the U.S. and retain the U.S. citizenship that is his, not only by birth but by any other critereon one could think of. Nonetheless, if U.S. authorities are serious — and they certainly are—for under the pretext that coming from Canada and overstaying the traditional 48 hours visitor's permit Johnson is a "stateless person," or without so much as a by-your-leave of Canadian government authorities, is more of a Canadian citizen than a U.S. citizen, they are trying to not only deprive him of his American citizenship but deport him—banish him from the land of his birth.

Johnson is no convicted murderer, dope smuggler, or Nazi collaborator. He is neither guilty nor charged with any such offence which the authorities often casually overlook. But according to U.S. authorities he is a criminal nonetheless — guilty of a whole series of crimes spanning two countries and extending for more than a decade of his short life.

While in Canada he swore an oath of allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. Further—he voted in a Toronto municipal election And not content with that, when he returned to the United States he overstayed the 48 hour visitor's limit — by some six years now. Of course there were extenuating circumstances in the latter case.

Johnson doesn't deny that he swore an oath of allegiance to the Queen, and voted in the Toronto election. He did so under the name of Peter Metheus. He had assumed this name when as a youth of 23, differences with his parents caused him to leave home and come to Canada.

Some years after coming here he made contact with the Toronto Socialist Educational League which later fused with the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver to form the League for Socialist Action. After attending several public functions of the SEL and arguing and discussing its views, he was convinced of the need for socialism, became active, and when the League decided to contest three aldermanic posts along with the mayoralty in the 1958 municipal elections, volunteered to be a candidate.

The League knew Johnson by word and deed as an honest and class conscious militant, and had no reason to quiz him as to his name and birthplace. Besides, being internationalist in outlook the League took dead seriously

Joe Johnson alias Metheus

the words and phrases so often uttered and printed about 3,000 miles of undefended border, US-Canadian amity, the common interests that bind us, etc.

Of course Johnson took an oath of allegiance to the Queen — as has every other candidate since elections have been held in Toronto — whether a monarchist or republican. If he had not he would have been immediately disqualified and the electorate deprived of hearing his views.

Shortly after the election, upon hearing that his draft number had been called and that he was being charged with evasion, Johnson decided to return to his former home to plead his case. Unfortunately he no sooner crossed the border when he was picked up by immigration authorities, turned over to the FBI, tried and sentenced to two years in Springfield Penitentiary. These are the circumstances behind his violating the 48 hours visitor's permit.

Johnson was brought before the courts in 1959 not as "stateless" but as an American citizen —and was sentenced to penitentiary as an American citizen — who allegedly failed to measure up to the responsibilities that the Truman government, shipping American youth off to the dirty war in Korea, decreed were the responsibilities of American citizenship.

Having served his sentence, Johnson returned to civilian life. He has worked at various jobs in the Minneapolis area, has contested public office, and is presently the Minneapolis organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. Now — 6 years later — the government has pounced upon him.

A Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has been set up under the auspices of prominent defenders of civil rights in Minnesota. Recently Norman Thomas has identified himself with the committee and its aim.

When Johnson was brought before a Minneapolis court last month a group of Carleton College students appeared outside and handed the press a resolution protesting the government's actions. They expressed the conviction that the government's actions are a result of Johnson's political activities and as such could be used against anyone opposed to its policies.

We doubt that Ottawa will submit to any attempt on Washington's part to compel it to accept Johnson as a Canadian citizen. They will hardly consider the matter, for Johnson is not a Joe Bananas but a declared opponent of capitalism. Besides, if swearing an oath of loyalty to the Queen and voting in Toronto elections might qualify one for citizenship party label politics would have to be instituted to overcome the chaos caused by the number of nominees seeking citizenship.

We extend every hope for success to the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson. But should they fail, which would be a blow to civil rights in the U.S., for our part we would gladly welcome Johnson's return to the fight for a socialist Canada —and North America.

Elsewhere unionism stagnates
Quebec Labor Attracts New Forces

(from Workers' Vanguard, January 1965)

By J. Richard *(D.F.)*

MONTREAL—The storm clouds of inter-union rivalry hung heavy over the Quebec labor horizon as 1965 opened. Highlighted by the raid-December decision of 5,000 Montreal Transportation Commission and Provincial Transport Company workers to leave the CBRT *(the major Canadian railway and express workers union --ed.)* and join the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), the increasingly bitter struggle for influence between the Quebec Labor Federation (Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec-- FTQ) and the CSN threatened to dominate the labor scene in the new year.

Scarcely two weeks previously, 28,000 provincial civil servants answered Premier Lesage's arrogant refusal of recognition in 1962 — "the Queen doesn't negotiate with her subjects" — by voting in a majority of 77% to quit their professional association and adhere to the CSN. Together, these two developments underlined the recent rapid growth of trade unions in Quebec, and the remarkable tendency of the independent CSN to capitalize on it, at the expense of the Canadian Labor Congress-affiliated FTQ.

This growth marks the first major upsurge in labor organization there since the late '30's and the 40's, when union membership rose from 50,000 members in 1935 to 260,000 in 1951, most of this under the militant influence of the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO). (By 1943, the proportion of Quebec trade unionists adhering to the CSN's pacific predecessor, the Catholic CTCC, had fallen from 74% of the 1935 total to a mere 28%).

But towards the end of the decade, the CTCC underwent a major reorganization, changing its name, and breaking from, the direct domination of the Catholic Church. As the "quiet revolution-' (which is neither quiet nor a "revolution") commenced in 1960. the CSN claimed the allegiance of barely 90,000 workers; by December 1963 this had swelled to 120,000 and now stands at 165,000 —an increase of 30% **in one year**.

A major part of this increase has been registered among industrial workers in the mass-production industries. But this growth, is also reflected in a parallel development, previously unheard of in Quebec (or for that matter, in North America). Significant sectors of the middle classes — teachers, engineers, nurses, even doctors — have been forming trade unions, usually adhering to the CSN, and often quitting their old professional associations in the process.

The militant nurses' strike at the Ste-Justine children's hospital in the autumn of 1963 gave the signal for a massive organization drive among the nurses throughout the Montreal area — most of the major hospitals are now organized in the CSN. Last June, the "Professional association of non-clerical classical college professors (APPLEC)" became the first provincial group of educators to affiliate to a union federation (the CSN).

In May, Quebec doctors — with the endorsation of the Quebec College of Medicine — organized the first doctors' union in North America, stating that their principal aim was "above all the signing of collective labor contracts" with hospital employers. Already, the doctors' union in at least one district (Granby) has met with the local labor council to discuss the implementation of medicare and hospitalization schemes on the local level.

In March, the newly-founded Quebec government engineers' union decided **with only one dissenting vote** to affiliate to the CSN for, in the words of one delegate, "without affiliation, we have no negotiating force." This was the first civil servants' union to join a labor federation. In July, the 1,000 CSN-affiliated engineers of the City of Montreal finally gained official bargaining recognition from City Council, after being stalled by the Drapeau-Saulnier "reform" administration for nine months.

And a new vote was injected into the present Quebec Liquor Board employees' strike when — mirable dictu!*(wonderful to tell –ed.)* —two-thirds of the Board's store managers, foremen and superintendents defied provincial legislation threatening loss of jobs and formed their own union, which immediately donated $1,000 to the striking employees' funds, and levied a tithe of 10% of the salary they continue to draw, to the strikers' CSN union.

New Militancy Stirs Quebec Unions, Winning Support of White Collared

Capitalizing on this atmosphere of general militancy, the CSN has grown in truly spectacular fashion. In contrast, the rival FTQ, despite considerable recruitment in a few sectors—for example, its Union of Public Service Employees has grown from 6,000 members in 12 locals in I960 to 50 locals comprising 13,000 at the end of 1964 —maintains a constant size of just over 200,000 members. A major factor behind this relative stagnation lies in the "raids" effected recently by the CSN: the latter has gained 10,000 members from the (pan-Canadian) CLC in the past four years, and promises to take more in the near future. (It should be noted here that not all CLC locals in Quebec are affiliated to the FTQ.)

It is this inter-union rivalry which has attracted the most attention in the big daily press, and has rendered only temporary any alliance such as that forged between FTQ and the CSN in the struggle last spring against the notorious anti-labor Bill 54. But what is the basis for the relative success of the CSN vis-à-vis the FTQ?

One factor is undoubtedly nationalism. The CSN's "nationalism" has a fundamentally pragmatic orientation. Arguments in favor of 'Canadian' unions are employed against the 'international' unions (to which 71% of organized Canadian workers adhere), and the CSN leadership emphasizes the bureaucratic misleadership and relative numerical weakness of many 'international unions' — 57 of them have less than 5,000 members in Canada, and of these, thirty report less than 30 members each.

But the more common emphasis is toward French Canadian nationalism: CSN president Jean Marchand frequently inveighs against "foreign" (non-Quebec) institutions. ("I am not a racist ... but it must be said that our principal institutions have come to us from outside: we took our parliament from England, our economic structures from the United States, our Church from

Rome . . . It's about time that we built **our own** institutions.") He declared during the "raid" on the CBRT (a wholly-Canadian union) in Montreal, "Even if the Steelworkers and the CBRT were very fine unions, I would tell you to create your own trade unions." Certainly it is true that middle-class nationalist organizations such as the St-Jean-Baptiste Societies, which have almost never spoken up against the invasion of foreign capital into Quebec, have declared at various times their endorsation of the CSN's struggle against the international unions.

But the CSN's appeal is not limited to its nationalism (which at any rate on this plane is simply an expression of the more profound anti-bureaucratic — hence anti-U.S. control— sentiments of French Canadian workers), for they have been making inroads among non-French-speaking workers, too. The employees of the Montreal Jewish Hospital, representing among them 15 different national origins, recently quit their CLC union to join the CSN, and they are being followed by other English hospital workers.

One of the CSN's attractions is the greater measure of internal autonomy which it allows individual locals — it was for this reason that the APPLEC, which wished to preserve its professional character to some degree, decided against affiliation to the FTQ, which is more centralized structurally. But this decentralization also poses a weakness, too —witness the (Montreal daily) *La Presse* conflict. Not until its mid-September congress (3-1/2 months after the lock-out began) did the CSN take the (for it) unusual step of declaring "unconditional support" to the *La Presse* employees, and granting them the money to publish a strike paper. In general, the CSN leadership has been not so much the initiator as the **beneficiary** of the workers' militancy.

It should be obvious to any serious worker that some sort of unity must be forged between the rival federations — not a purely formal unity to aid capitalist "planning" (as projected by CSN president Marchand, a member of the Liberal Party and "labor" member of the provincial government's Economic Orientation Council), or a phony unity to preserve the plush payola of some union porkchoppers by damping the workers' inherent militancy, but a real united front waging a consistent struggle against the capitalist system in all its aspects. At the moment, the onus lies chiefly with the FTQ unions. They must become tools of **struggle** against the bosses, not simply institutions of privilege for a few clever ex-militants.

FTQ members must fight for full autonomy within the CLC and international unions; otherwise the "hemorrhage" of member-affiliates will continue. For the fact is that many militants presently within the FTQ see little prospect for radicalizing locals which remain under the executive veto of a higher authority across the Quebec border. In this respect, it is significant that former Parti Socialiste du Québec chairman Fernand Daoust, who reflects the "pro-autonomy" tendency within the FTQ, was recently defeated by only one vote for the post of president in the federation's executive elections to replace the late Roger Provost.

Finally, the present political, economic and social crisis of Quebec points to the urgent need for a politicization of the labor movement. The FTQ has this much to its credit — that on paper at least, it has projected, through its affiliation to the federal New Democratic Party, the concept of independent labor political action. But it has never tried to carry this concept to the Quebec level, and it violently opposed the formation of the PSQ *Parti socialiste du Québec, a stillborn attempt at forming a labor party --ed.)* at the time of the latter's foundation. Only through the

concerted action of the workers themselves, through their own political party, can the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better living conditions, etc., be generalized and carried to a successful conclusion with the formation of a workers' and farmers' government in Quebec.

20 Years of the CIO – Book Review (and Memorial to Art Preis)

(from Workers' Vanguard, January 1965)

LABOR'S GIANT STEP—Twenty years of the CIO—by Art Preis. Published by Pioneer Publishers, New York City, and obtainable through the Vanguard Bookstore, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto and 1208 Granville Street, Vancouver--$8.25 postpaid

On Dec. 26, after years of serious illness, Art Preis, author of *Labor's Giant Step—20 Years of the CIO,* died. The *Vanguard* pays tribute to this courageous labor journalist whose reporting in the *(US-SWP) Militant*, the American organ of revolutionary socialism, has been for more than 20 years a source of clarity, penetrating analysis, and inspiration to militant trade unionists throughout the continent. His 30 years in the labor movement mark him as an authentic voice of labor.

In the years ahead the labor movement on this continent will he grateful that Art managed to finish his book just prior to his death. It will serve as an imperishable memorial to him and also an irreplaceable guide to union militants.

In the past decade labor commentators have more and more come to advance the idea of North American exceptionalism— that here the class struggle does not exist. Art Preis explodes this myth once and for all. In the twenty years covered by *Labor's Giant Step,* he relates, with the intensity and accuracy of a participant, some of the hardest fought and bloodiest struggles between labor and capital in history.

With the fine tool of historical precision, tempered with deep insight into the nature of class society, *Labor's Giant Step* uncovers the power of the American working class as it broke through all prejudices and fears, overcame the vast powers of the industrial Barons and all the instruments of the state that were at their disposal, and organized, through the Committee of Industrial Organizations, the mass production industries of this continent.

Then follows the counter attack by American capitalism in the guise of Roosevelt's New Deal, as the industrialists prepare to heal the sores of the economy by sacrificing the American workers in the most brutal war in history *(World War 22, 1939-1945 -- ed.)* The tragic and cowardly capitulation of labor's official leaders to the political representatives of the war profiteers is next exposed to the merciless light of historical fact.

The United States went to war to replenish the coffers of the industrialists. To this end it was necessary to control and contain the giant step just taken by labor. The official labor leaders were chosen for this task. Preis vividly traces the decline of many of these 'leaders' from militant spokesmen of the workers to conservative well-paid stooges of the capitalists — the labor statesmen of today.

However, despite the no-strike pledge foisted on labor by these 'leaders'; despite their consistent attempt to channel the class conflict into the governmental apparatus of the bosses, and despite the purges of the militants from the ranks, the struggle did not vanish. On the

contrary! As thousands of workers were led to slaughter on the European battle fields, all too many were to die or suffer injury on hundreds of miles of picket lines at the hands of the National Guard, the police and the hired thugs of the bosses.

As the war ended, labor further demonstrated its organized power as the greatest strike wave in history raged over the United States from coast to coast. The giant auto and steel corporations were once again forced to capitulate to the workers' demands for a better standard of living.

Without the war itself, maintenance of profits meant continuation of the war economy. The cold war, the Korean War and the witch-hunt, were brought into play in a further attempt to squelch the labor movement. Once again Preis' documented account reveals the anti-labor role of the government. Once again he demonstrates the role of the labor 'statesmen' as stooges of the boss and betrayers of the workers.

Labor's Giant Step is more than the first accurate and complete history of the CIO. It is a record of crucial lessons for labor. The advancement of the industrial unionism of the CIO over the craft unionism of the AFL is demonstrated by the victories of the CIO over the 'impregnable' mass industries of steel, coal, auto and rubber.

Three major strikes of 1934 are used to illustrate the necessity of a radical class conscious trade union leadership. The book's twenty year span, encompassing both successes and defeats, is adequate proof of this basic lesson.

The treachery of the policies of class collaboration and bureaucratic organizational methods are singled out as object lessons of prime importance. The role of the Communist Party, working hand in glove with the labor statesmen, is laid bare. The no-strike pledge, the reliance on government machinery instead of militant mass picket lines, and the destruction of union democracy, all policies projected into the CIO by the Stalinists and the labor statesmen, are shown to be incorrect, and in fact, betrayals of the working class.

The failure of the CIO to adopt the concept of independent political action is utilized by Preis to make the case for a labor party. Labor's support of both the Roosevelt and the Truman administrations resulted in record-breaking use of the armed forces against strikers, strike-breaking government seizures of struck industries, a fascist-like labor draft law, innumerable wage freezes, and the infamous union busting Taft-Hartley law.

Preis points out that to this date American labor has been prevented from taking its second giant step — independent political action and the *(formation of a mass)* labor party. To labor he issues the challenge, "Why not?", with the confidence and optimism which permeates *Labor's Giant Step* — the natural by-product of the author's socialist and revolutionary perspective.

A comparable history of the CIO in Canada has yet to be written. Nonetheless Canadian trade unionists can absorb the lessons of this book. In 1937, the GM workers in Oshawa, threatened with invasion by Liberal Premier Hepburn's RCMP Cossacks, hit the bricks *(staged mass strike walkouts --ed.)* to bring industrial unionism to Canada. Since then Canadian workers have had their experiences with no-strike pledges, sell-out leadership, and the terror of the RCMP and

provincial police.

Canadian workers have already taken the second giant step with the formation of the New Democratic Party. Preis' legacy to us proves the correctness of this action. It shows us the capitalist powers will not concede this great victory. It implicitly calls upon Canadian labor to build and strengthen its newly-won political arm. More important — it gives us the perspective of victory.

by J. S. *(possibly John Steele--ed.)*

Toronto Strike Deadlocked, Typos Must Take New Turn

By P. Kent

TORONTO—The situation with Canada's first automation strike is grim. The lockout by the Big Three Toronto newspaper lords of nearly 700 members of the Typographical Union (Local 91) and 225 members of the Mailers Union has stretched on into its 8th month. All three dailies are being published with few hitches—their owners have arrogantly refused to even meet union representatives since away back on August 24.

There can be no question that the powerful North American newspaper interests are counting heavily on the Toronto bosses to crush the typos and the mailers. With that victory under their belts, their eyes glued to the profits column, they intend to introduce new automated processes into newspapers across the country, with arrogant and absolute disregard for the welfare of the workers who have spent their lives in the trade.

Toronto Controller William Dennison, following talks with Typo officials this month, said that he has the impression that the union is prepared to accept compulsory arbitration. T T U President McCormack gave credence to this opinion in his statement that he is confident that any recommendation from a mediator of the stature of Carl Goldenberg would be fair and honorable. It was Goldenberg with who the Ontario Tory government, in connivance with the cowardly leadership of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, closed the casket on the heroic Royal York Hotel strikers.

James Renwick, NDP member Toronto-Riverdale, said high requiem mass over the strike at the Feb. 21 meeting of the Oshawa NDP Association. According to him the strike has been lost by the union—which is now in the process of being destroyed. The situation is exactly the same as it was with the Royal York Hotel workers, he said.

But the strikers are very much alive. They are picketing all three papers on a 24 hour schedule in

(See Page 3—TORONTO)

WORKERS Vanguard

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Withdraw U.S. Troops Self - Determination for People of Vietnam

By The Editors

When the U.S. State Department, through the week commencing February 7th, threatened with its airstrikes against North Vietnam to escalate the war against China, the people of Canada, as the people elsewhere, tried to find their voice. Prime Minister Pearson spoke up, but not against the men of the Pentagon. He warned the Canadian people against criticizing the United States, against "pulling the eagle's tail feathers." Such criticisms Canadians have—though he hinted none—are better expressed through private channels, he said. While addressing a U of T audience after the third strike, NDP leader T. C. Douglas answered a query as to his silence on the mounting crisis with the comment that the house was not in session.

Now, nearly everyone, except the madmen in Washington, as talking negotiations and settlement of the war in Vietnam. While Vietnamese continue to die, the greatest danger appears to be diminishing. The world is breathing easier. Now, many of those who were silent have become voluble with solutions, all the more that the Vietnamese appear to be approaching a solution on their own.

Most of the solutions being offered are no more acceptable than the previous advice that we should remain silent in the face of the gravest peril to mankind.

What can we expect out of a reconvening of the Geneva Conference with its International Control Commission? The Geneva powers carved South Vietnam out of what is one people and one nation—a major cause of the present trouble. The Control Commission, which at one-time openly admitted that there was no evidence of Chinese violations, not only proved powerless to prevent U.S. intervention, but, particularly Canada, provided the necessary cover for it. Canada sustained the pretext that the 28,000 U.S. forces, armed with all the latest devices on a self sustaining basis, were merely "advisors" of the score of governments that arose out of the various coups that the U.S. played a primary role in engineering.

As for the proposition of a United Nations presence. What has it to offer after its lengthy silence, and particularly since we have had the experiences not only of its "police action" in nearby Korea but its so-called "peacemaker operation" in the Congo? In so far as it has been permitted to function, the U.N. has proven on every occasion to be nothing more than an instrument of U.S. policy.

The major demand that appeared on demonstrations across the world at the height of the crisis was—Hands off Vietnam—Withdraw U.S. Troops—the only foreign troops there — out of Vietnam. The implementation of this demand would solve the main problem for it is the U.S. presence there—not China or the Soviet Union who have shown utmost restraint in the face of U.S. provocations—that is the threat to peace. Withdrawal of U.S. troops would also permit the people of Vietnam to solve the problems in their own country in their own way, which is their right.

Demonstrations Across Canada Protest U. S. Actions Against North Vietnam

Within hours of reports of the U.S. State Department's first aggressive assault against North Vietnam, and following the subsequent attacks, there were protest demonstrations in major cities across Canada.

Sunday afternoon, February 7, almost 300 mobilized a protest picket in front of the U.S. Consulate in Toronto. Formally initiated by the Association for Peace, it was supported by a wide cross section of militants. "Hands off North Vietnam," "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam," "Johnson Imperils World Peace," "Dad, Don't Extend War in Vietnam," were the predominant slogans on the placards. Jacqueline Ineen of the Association for Peace, Patricia Mitchell of the League for Socialist Action, and Pedre Gallagher of the New Democratic Youth, addressed the pickets before they dispersed. The LSA distributed a leaflet exposing the Pearson Government participation in the International Control Commission where it has covered up U.S. intervention against the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The following day over 300 U of T students picketed the consulate in response to an appeal from an ad hoc committee representing all major U of T student bodies. The U of T press, **The Varsity**, warned the students in a hard-hitting editorial that the U.S. attack "makes total war the more probable" and urged the student body to join the demonstrations. "The war in Vietnam is your war, unless you disavow it," it challenged.

The following Sunday, in spite of the failure of several groups to participate, about 100 again demonstrated. Among the placards were some demanding "Hands Off Vietnam Freedom Struggle," and others exposing Prime Minister Pearsons' apologies for the U.S. aggression. After their picket of the consulate the demonstrators circled the plaza of the new city hall and then gathered at the cenotaph to hear short speeches by Cliff Cotton of the LSA and Art Young of the Young Socialist Forum.

This Sunday Feb. 7th demonstration of 200 in front of the U.S. Consulate in Montreal, initiated by associates of **Révolution Québecoise** and the Montreal Peace Conference, proved to be the first time that all major French-Canadian left forces co-operated in a demonstration against U.S. imperialism with organized groups of the English left. The Montreal demonstration in response to the second major attack was even larger. U of M students joined when Pierre Vallières, editor of **Révolution Québecoise**, called for support before a model United Nations meeting. McGill University NDY leader Bill Lennihan, acting as Prime Minister in the model parliament, moved a motion that all M.P.'s join the line. Despite its being ruled out of order by the speaker of the house, an NDP Professor Gifford, many members walked out and joined the line.

Sunday afternoon, Feb. 7, saw 30 pickets circle the Vancouver U.S. Consulate in protest against the airstrike against North Vietnam. It was composed of friends and supporters of the Progressive Workers Movement and the LSA, which also circulated a leaflet. This leaflet was widely distributed to some 1,000 persons attending a meeting addressed by Felix Greene on China, to a CP meeting addressed by Tim Buck, and elsewhere. In the following week there were several demonstrations including one at UBC and a parade organized by the Peace Council.

On Friday February 19th the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa was picketed by a group of Carleton University students and professors.

Malcolm X Murder Grave Setback for Negro Struggle

There is a broad sympathy, a feeling of solidarity among the Canadian people for the struggles of the 22 million oppressed, and insulted black citizens of the United States, and for their most prominent spokesmen who have come north for aid and support of their cause.

Malcolm X was a leader of the Negro struggle whose star was moving rapidly into the ascendancy when he was felled by assassins bullets last week. Anyone who heard his TV interviews could not fail to sense that—and understand why his tragic death has resulted in unconcealed expressions of satisfaction from the racist ruling elite and many who cast themselves in the role of friends of the Negro struggle.

Malcolm X was different from all the others who we have so far come to know as the leaders of the Negro struggle. He was not only the most eloquent and fearless, a polemicist who boldly and truthfully cut through all the cant and hypocrisy that has been built up around the Negro (the American) question—but he gave a whole new breadth and scope to the struggle.

He sought to develop the Negro Revolution into the genuine article. While he identified himself with every struggle he would not be satisfied with any tokenist concessions but was clearly committed to the total destruction of every form of racial injustice in a system that is based on racism. In the past few years he became a figure of international importance, linking up the struggle of the Afro-Americans with the revolutionary struggle in Africa.

In their sensational treatment of the assassination the white power structure has attempted to besmirch the victim's memory with lurid details of his more youthful years. But what these

MALCOLM X

stories really show is his nobility of character as he rejected all the rotten values of capitalist society.

With his conversion to the Black Muslims Malcolm not only rejected crime and Christianity, but white supremacist America. His desire to put the Black Muslims into the greater fight for freedom led to his conflict with Elijah Muhammed and his expulsion. As he told a forum organized by the press of the inter-racial Socialist Workers Party, for which on several occasions he voiced the highest praise ". . . we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings.

But they have concentrated their hatred of Malcolm, and by implication condoned his assassination, in their pompous moralisms about retribution. They lie that he sought vengeance against whites, as a means of evening the score, and advocated violence and terrorism. What they cannot forgive Malcolm was his rejection of pacifism, his advocacy of the right of the Negro people to practice self-defence, an essential part of his legacy to the young leaders yet to come.

His death is a terrible blow to the cause of Negro emancipation and socialism. But his example will remain a signpost on the way forward.

AN APPEAL

The **Workers Vanguard** needs a minimum of $4,000 to continue publication for the coming year. It is appealing to its growing number of friends and supporters to come to its aid during a two month campaign commencing March 1st and ending on May Day.

We think there is no need for us to make the case for your supporting the **Vanguard** with as big a financial contribution as possible. Our record is clear—as a source of information on the struggles of workers in other lands, as an intransigeant opponent of the war drive, as a voice for union militants, and a persistant agitator for a socialist Canada.

Of course our subscription rate doesn't begin to pay the cost of the **Vanguard**. We attempt to be as bold promoters as possible. Our last year's all-woman Trailblazer tour of Ontario was in part financed out of this fund. So too was the publication of several vital pamphlets.

The stakes are high in the fight that the **Vanguard** is committed to. In this day of the nuclear bomb and U.S. brinkmanship they are life itself. Money is a small matter in such a situation. But we need it and are dependent on you for it. Send your contributions at once to **The Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.**

To a Critic — on Gov't. Trusteeship

We of course agree with Brothers Campbell and Bodelai (see letters to the editor) on the need for a new trade union leadership. And we are for a completely autonomous Canadian trade union movement.

But we don't think Brothers Campbell and Bodelai strengthen their position of support of the continuation of the government trusteeship over the Great Lakes unions when they characterize the CLC leadership as "agents and Gauleiters" of the AFL-CIO, and lay down as the task that has supremacy over all others — the separation of Canadian from U.S. trade unions.

For one thing many CLC affiliates have no international affiliations. Furthermore some of the international unions within the framework of their affiliation have by-and-large established their autonomy. The Canadian district leaderships of the United Steelworkers for some years now have been a thorn in the side of the Macdonald leadership and, it will probably turn out, have just played the decisive role in its defeat in the recent elections.

We are opposed to the present leadership of the CLC, and not solely because sections of them have placed their high office at the service of the AFL-CIO top brass—but because they are a bureaucracy—in their own right. They are an indigenous bureaucracy which has developed thanks to the limited reformist aims that under the pressure of capitalist society they have given the movement they head, and the privileges that they have acquired and dispense.

We are for a new leadership that is militant, that bases itself entirely on the initiative, ingenuity and massive strength residing in the 1½ million strong ranks in the Canadian union movement—on democracy.

The first principle in the program that is necessary in order to forge this new leadership is the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state. This means not only rejection of labor-management-government co-operation bodies, but opposition to the multitudinous laws that have been imposed on the unions, and above all, irreconcilable opposition and struggle against government intervention in the internal affairs of the labor movement.

(See Page 3 — TO A CRITIC)

Workers Vanguard #106 Feb. 1965

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Workers Vanguard #107 - Mar 1965

2nd Cdn Student Work-tour to Cuba Seeks Volunteers

The announcement of the second Canadian student work tour to Cuba is rousing wide interest in campuses across the country. Sponsored jointly by the University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia Student Committees on Cuban Affairs, the Ottawa, Carleton University, Central American Studies Club and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the project will span six weeks in July and August and is open to all students attending any university in Canada. During their stay in Cuba the students will be guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students. Arrangements for the tour are being made through the Cuban Institute I.C.A.P.

Forty-five students participated in last year's work tour. This year it is anticipated that there will be at least double that number. The selection of participants from the many applicants will be made as last year by a committee composed largely of university faculty members.

That arrangements for the project had been finalized was announced by Fair Play For Cuba Committee chairman Vernel Olson a few days following a social evening held in Toronto attended by the Cuban Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Americo Cruz. The ambassador presented the assembled guests an album of photographs that had been taken of last year's Student Tour.

A few weeks earlier the Fair Play for Cuba Committee released the most ambitious publication effort that it has so far undertaken—a 60 page pamphlet titled **Canadian Students in Cuba** —a report of last year's student tour.

Beautifully laid out and illustrated with photos taken by one of their number, this pamphlet contains contributions from 18 of the students — two of them in French. The contributions vary widely reflecting the differing interests of the writers—the psychology of the people, religious freedom, the political problems confronting the revolution, the cultural atmosphere, etc. As the declarations they issued to the press immediately upon their return demonstrate (they are reproduced in the centerpiece) all the students were impressed by the achievements and dynamism of the revolution.

Information about the student tour and copies of the **pamphlet, Canadian Students in Cuba** which sells for 75 cents, can be obtained by writing to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 165 Spadina Avenue, Toronto.

Across Country with the NDP

POLICY ON VIETNAM

Meetings of the Toronto St. Paul's NDP and the Toronto Davenport NDP, as did High Park before them, have gone on record against U.S. agression in Vietnam — one of them urging that U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Vietnam and sent into Alabama.

High Park urged the NDP parliamentary caucus to call for a peaceful settlement which would result in the withdrawal of all troops from South Vietnam. Much better, the Davenport resolution charged the U.S. with waging an undeclared war of aggression in South Vietnam, answering mass revolution with mass extermination, and urged the parliamentary leadership of the NDP to condemn the bombing of the North and demand unconditional withdrawal of American troops and supplies from South Vietnam.

The St. Paul's resolution declared the constituency association's support of Friends of SNCC in their demands on behalf of the oppressed peoples of the USA. It urged withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and that they be sent into those States which defy the fundamental norms of a democratic society be considered by the U.S. Government.

FREEDOM OF IDEAS

What encourages us to continue to glance through the Prairie New Democrat **Commonwealth** is the column written by C. B. (Charles Biesick). Recently it has been subjected to considerable attack in the letters to the editor column — and with no defence from the editors. Biesick, who often writes truths about imperialism, often comments on the injustices perpetrated by the capitalist system and opposes witchhunting, hasn't apparently been sufficiently critical of the Soviet areas — hasn't tipped his hat often enough or low enough to anti-communism.

Fortunately some readers have intervened to see that justice is done — they haven't left CB to defend himself. Among several letters is one by an Edmontonian who has this to say:

"Perhaps there is more truth than fiction in the comment made to me recently by an ardent Conservative to the effect that in international affairs no party 'dares' less than the NDP, for no other party is so fearful of being called 'red.' . . .

"Many people, themselves well informed and liberal in outlook, argue that if their political party is to be 'effective' (popular) then great care must be taken to see that it remains 'untainted' . . . This is not only a vain hope; it is self defeating. The witchhunters from whose view they seek to hide, BEGIN with the excuse of searching for communists, but the objective—as history past and present proves — is to move outward in ever-expanding circles until all liberal thought and all progressive reform is suspect and therefore impotent."

STEEL PRICE HOIST

The appeals of NDP leader T. C. Douglas and Steelworkers leader Mahoney to the Pearson government to block the recently announced increase in the price of steel have fallen on deaf ears. The increase is certain to set off a chain reaction of price increases and send the cost of living off again to break through the newly established all-time high. The government refused to take any action against Stelco's price hoist. Rather, it ordered a broad inquiry. Even if anything were to come out of this there could be no action for at least six months.

Douglas is now speaking in BC on this matter and has been proposing federal legislation to bring the steel industry under government control. There is considerable value in referring to precedents to strengthen one's case. In these speeches Douglas refers to the late U.S. President John F. Kennedy's response to a price hoist by the U.S. steel oligopoly shortly after the steelworkers had been bamboozled into a no-wage-increase contract. Kennedy talked tough but after the storm passed away he allowed what the steel barons wanted under a formula of "selective price increases."

If Douglas wants a precedent to strengthen his case, and Kennedy's actions don't serve this purpose, why doesn't he refer to the British Labor Party government. Right now it is preparing to take action against the British steel trusts, to control the industry. And they are doing it the only way one can control such a power—by putting it under public ownership.

DISCREDITS NDP

A deputation of 21 students who appeared before the North York Board of Education recently to present a petition asking permission to form political clubs in the high schools was arrogantly attacked by the board's chairman, Saul Cowan. The situation was made no more tolerable by the fact that the petitioners, met by two policemen and ten caretakers, were armed with signatures of over 55 per cent of their school, asking permission to form a New Democratic Youth club, and the chairman has been a member of the NDP since its foundation, and the CCF before that.

While Mr. Cowan denied deputation spokesman Robin Mercer an opportunity to speak with the excuse that the item was not on the agenda, he found considerable room to attack them as if they had no rights at all, let alone the right of petition. "Your extra-curricular activities," he said, "are not yours by right but are a privilege."

But Mr. Cowan didn't leave it at that. The following meeting witnessed his presentation of a 1,600 word statement and a motion that banned political clubs in North York schools. The motion passed. Not only did he link politics to religion in his claim that partisan politics have no more place in the schools than partisan religion, but he again went out of his way to slander these very responsible students. The next move is up to the North York NDP.

WORKERS Vanguard #107 - Mar 1965

Toronto and UBC Students Hear Challenge of Marxism

Over one hundred students at Toronto's York University heard Dean Smythe of Atkinson College debate Ross Dowson, national secretary of the League for Socialist Action, on whether liberal democracy would outlive communism. The meeting was arranged by the campus Socialist Club and chaired by Dean Tattam of York University.

While leaning heavily on the writings of the religious mystic, Nicolas Berdyaev, Dean Smythe attacked Marxism as a religion which ignores the individual, intelligence, and entrepreneural skill. Liberal democracy, he stated, was not founded on any system or any philosophical dogma. He admitted that it had not resolved, was not clear on the problem of democratic rights of the opposition.

Dowson opened with the observation that Dean Smythe's contribution in his opinion showed how irrelevant liberal democracy as an ideology is to the genuine conflicts of today. He claimed that in so far as liberalism has any meaning, it is an integral part of Marxism, and in so far as its tenets are to be realized, it is only by changing the present capitalist system to a socialist society.

Referring to British Guiana, Kerala, and Selma, he stated that there was nothing more expendible in the plans of the real rulers of the "west" than liberal democracy as a socio-political superstructure of capitalism.

Following the formal debate the floor was thrown open for a lively round of questions and answers.

The first meeting of the new University of British Columbia campus Socialist Club was held on March 1st. It featured as speaker, Ernest Tate, Western editor of the **Workers Vanguard.** He addressed a lively group of fifty students on the question, Is Marxism Valid for Canada?

Apr 12, 1965 NOTATIONS by R. D. -ed.

leave space for title

DOCUMENT ON THE PORTUGUESE CANADIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION. TASKS OF THE L.S.A.

A revolutionary upheaval in Portugal and a socialist victory within the next few years is a very strong possibility. The significance of the Portuguese struggle for the whole Iberian peninsula and the European revolution will be very great.

The Salazar regime tends to deteriorate as the liberation forces in its African colonies advance toward independence, while the Portuguese working class, students and intellectuals inside Portugal and abroad, struggle to overthrow it.

The present stage of the Portuguese revolution is primarily characterized by two main "democratic" fronts of liberation. First, the CP dominated "Patriotic Liberation Front" (FPLN) with its "Popular Front" line of a "democratic", instead of a socialist led revolution, and General Humberto Delgado's "Portuguese Front of National Liberation" (FPLN) which is also a broad "democratic" front without much political differentiation from the former.

Besides these two "democratic" fronts, there are also revolutionary socialist currents of which two are outstanding at this time.

The Popular Action Front (FAP) with its underground organ "Accao Popular" is a pro-Peking group which broke from the CP when its leader, a member of the Central Committee was expelled. This "Accao Popular" maintains generally a left line and

has not yet published any of the poisonous pro-Stalinist material which makes some of the Chinese-influenced CP opposition papers impalatable to advanced elements. It has not yet been decided whether this FAP will just become a pro-Peking stooge group like the many groups set up in countries like France, Britain, Switzerland, Spain etc., or whether it will blossom out into a real left wing militant organization like the Indian Left Communist Party.

There is the Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR) which publishes a paper in Algiers. They are not so clear ideologically as the FAP, e.g. they don't stand for "Leninism", and their position towards the CP "Patriotic Liberation Front" is much more ambiguous than that of the FAP. However, contrary to FAP they are vigorously anti-Stalinist .

In the emigration, the Portuguese emigre groups will be greatly influenced by the course of the Portuguese revolution and in turn can be an influence themselves on its course. Here in Canada, the Portuguese certainly constitute one of the most important Portuguese emigre groups in the world and there is considerable evidence that Delgado and his FPLN consider it the most important.

There are approximately 60,000 Portuguese immigrants scattered throughout Canada. The major concentration in Toronto-with about 17,000. The remainder are in ~~rest in such cities as~~ Montreal, Vancouver, Kitimat, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Kitchener and Galt. Most of them

came in 1952. About 60% are from the Azores and the other 40% are from the Mainland. The majority, about 80%, were landless peasants before coming to Canada and here they generally form part of the unskilled labor force, being heavily exploited. Nevertheless they probably are the highest paid among all the Portuguese who are scattered throughout the world in France and Venezuela, for example. Politically we can say that the majority of the Portuguese in the Toronto area are one way or another anti-Salazar although many are afraid to express it publicly in fear of reprisals on their relatives in Portugal through agents of the Salazar regime here.

The Portuguese Canadian Democratic Association had its beginning around 1958, that is, at the time of the national elections in Portugal, and followed a demonstration in front of the Portuguese Consulate here in Toronto in support of General Delgado. However it did not begin to Consolidate until the seizure of the "Santa Maria" in the beginning of 1961.

About a year ago, with the membership of the man who is now its president, t he PCDA greatly strengthened its membership, mainly through his activity and the editing of their present Bulletin last fall. Its membership is now estimated at 700 members scattered throughout Canada, with 1,600 contacts. There are close to 400 members in the Toronto area-with the Toronto organization constituting itself as a sort of national centre. At

present attempts are being made to form atleast a Toronto-Ottawa-Montreal national body.

The members pay two dollars a month dues, receive the Bulletin, and contribute financially to different degrees depending on the occasion and their own sense of committment. Recently they were able to raise eight thousand dollars in a rather short time. The association traditionally has no women active in it. This can only be explained on a cultural basis.

Its constitution has as its two main objectives, first, to struggle for the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship through a solid identification with Delgado's FPLN. This gives it a political and revolutionary character since it presupposes the overthrow of Salazar by an insurrection (headed by the) FPLN. It is not however (anti capitalist-) socialist, because it looks for the establishment of a bourgeois democracy afterwards. Its other main objective is to try and integrate its members into Canadian society. This double character of the PCDA caters to those Portuguese who wish to stay in Canada as permanent residents as well as those who plan to take an active role in the Portuguese revolution.

Since this last fall a mimeographed 15 or so page Bulletin, "A Verdade" (The Truth) is published twice a month, in Portuguese, with a circulation by mail of about 1,600. Eight issues have been published and among other things it reports on developments in

Portugal through the FPLN-including the latter's statements and official communiques. It also serves to appeal to its readers throughout Canada to oppose the Salazar regime and form clubs and committees in their respective areas. Montreal, according to the latest Bulletin, has recently witnessed the formation of a "Comite Democratico" among the anti-Salazar elements which "shows great promise". The Bulletin is also published in English once a monthh with little or no FPLN communiques and geared mainly to inform its Canadian readers about Portugal and the Salazar oppression. It has a mailing circulation of 600 to 700.

The executive of the association is elected at a general meeting every December. Besides the president there is a vice-president, two secretaries and a treasurer. Our present evaluation of the executiv e is that, unlike the membership, it is basically socialist in its orientation. It supports the FPLN officially but it is certainly in its left wing. The political tendencies that exist within the executive and among the more militant members of the PCDA are not a reflection of the Canadian political scene so much as they are of the Portuguese. For example, while there are persons identifying themselves with the CP, it is the Portuguese CP, and not the Canadian CP which has no influence in it like the French CP has among Portuguese living in France. The executive strictly reflects the political tendencies of the Portuguese struggle, however in the association as a whole there seems to be an identification with the NDP as Canada's labor party

with a great portion of the Portuguese community voting NDP.

Organisationally, the executive is somewhat loose, allowing for example "friends" to attend its meetings while at the same time it must be said that it is democratic, probably a reflection of the FPLN's character, in allowing the circulation within the executiv e and its periphery of newspapers and organs of the more leftist groups in t he Portuguese struggle.

Needless to say that the present "democratic" structure of the PCDA and the excellent relations that known comrades of ours have already established with its executive, offers us a most favorable situation to work in.

OUR MAIN TASKS. Our main task should be to build a Trotskyist caucus inside the PCDA. In other words we want to equip the Portuguese struggle with a Revolutionary - Marxist program through a Trotskyist caucus inside the PCDA in conjunction with currents in Portuga l moving to a Trotskyist position. This caucus should be oriented mainly and unequivocably toward the Portuguese revolution as exponent s of the Trotskyist current in contest with the already existing currents and tendencies. They will present our views and ideas on t he Portuguese revolution and those of our current in Portugal to the militants of the association. A natural extension of this would be to raise funds and other forms of aid for Sympathetic cadres or currents in Portugal.

Our influence should be particularly directed to those radicals who like their counterparts in Portugal are becoming increasingly disappointed with the official CP line and General Delgado. In other words we want to make Trotskyists and future cadre leaders out of those militants of the PCDA who will be returning to Portugal.

~~These is no doubt that~~ our main orientation should be directed toward the Portuguese revolution even among those militants who do not intend to return to Portugal since generally their main motivation for activity in the PCDA is to see their fatherland liberated. However, there is no doubt that we must also influence those who are planning to stay in Canada, to participate actively in Canadian politics by joining working class organizations such as the trade unions, the NDP, and becoming comrades of the League for Socialist Action.

Just as most workers in the LSA are expected to work in their unions and most students to work in campus organizations, so our comrades in the PCDA should work to build it along militant lines and try and unite the Portuguese community around the PCDA. However, it should be stressed at this point that we don't have the possibility nor the aim of winning the PCDA to our view in this present stage of the revolutionn in Portugal. In other words at present, the main current in the Portuguese emigre circles is revolutionary democrat or popular frontist and not revolutionary socialist . Therefore, at this stage, and in this

emigre association, the freedom of expression of our views is of prime concern because we can be sure that as the Portuguese revolution unfolds all views will be tested not only in Portuga l but in the emigre circles as well.

Not just our Portuguese comrades but the iSA membership should try and widen its contacts with the Portuguese, collaborating with them as we have done already in carrying out demonstrations and other activities. Needless to say this would bring them closer to us and our ideas.

Finally, we should expand our treatment of the Portuguese struggle and the Portuguese emigration in our newspapers and Forums thereby educating our Canadian cadres and workers to the importanse that the Portuguese struggle has for an ultimate working class victory in Canada.

April 12, 1965.

WORKERS Vanguard

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B.C. NDP Constituency Resolutions Promise Controversial Convention

By E. Tate

The resolutions now before the British Columbia New Democratic Party in preparation for the coming provincial convention on May 24 indicate that the socialist current in the party, though feeble numerically, is still far from dead, despite three years of witch-hunting by the party leadership.

Even though the overwhelming bulk of the resolutions are primarily concerned with reforms of minor significance there is a strong line of demands on the NDP, if it forms the government, to make fundamental changes in the economy in the direction of eliminating capitalism and establishing socialism.

One resolution, from Nanaimo and the Islands, points out that the Dorion Inquiry has shown the federal government to be a "complete farce" and goes on to insist that an NDP majority in Ottawa would "wrest control of the Nation from Big Business" by adopting "a positive policy based on complete nationalization of industry" to be implemented in the following steps: "(1) Nationalization of all Power and Communications; (2) Nationalization of all major transportation and financial systems; (3) Nationalization of all industry in harvesting our natural resources; (4) Nationalization of all secondary industry with an output of $100,000 or more gross per annum."

This resolution stands in contrast to the official executive policy statement, now being circulated to the members, which, although it talks about placing under public ownership to quote the statement, "The remaining power facilities, transmission and distribution system, British Columbia telephone communication systems and oil pipelines," talks about "government participation" in the economy through the setting up of an Economic Development Corporation, which would, "after making a detailed survey of the Province's economy, would make loans to existing industries to expand and bring new industry into the province. Such a corporation, according to the draft policy, "would have the power to buy shares in private companies in British Columbia." In regard to the forestry industry the leadership would have party policy remain essentially as it is, the position in the draft being an exact copy of Tony Gargraves' concept. (See March issue of the **Vanguard.**)

Other resolutions continue in the vein of the Nanaimo and the Islands resolutions, and in general cut across the official program. From Prince Rupert, comes the demand that the "Northland Navigation Co., be nationalized." This company is the only means by which goods and supplies can be transported to many parts of the coast.

A resolution from Vancouver Center asks that "the NDP demand . . . a declaration of policy of 'no more alienation of natural resuorces' in any plan to regain control of resources . . ." and urges NDP alternate policy to be the "transference to the public domain of all natural resources and the transference of all means to process those resources and to advance them to eventual consumption."

Delta constituency, in a resolution states that "the B.C. Forest Industry is valued at billions and billions of dollars and whereas all this wealth has come from the exploitation of the labor and the natural resources of the people of B.C." and goes on to ask that the "convention go on record as favoring government ownership of B.C. pulp-paper monopolies."

Several resolutions on international affairs express the deep going alarm in the party over the United States' aggression against the Vietnamese people.

"Whereas the recent attacks on North Vietnam," says the Richmond NDY," threaten the world with nuclear war; Be it resolved that we call for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and; that we support the federal leader of the NDP, Tommy Douglas, in his statement that Canada should

(See RESOLUTIONS — Page 6)

WORKERS Vanguard #108 - Apr. 1965

RESOLUTIONS FOR B.C. NDP CONVENTION

(Continued From Page One)

stop echoeing U.S. policy in Vietnam."

"Further" it states, "that the Canadian representative on the International Control Commission should stop white-washing U.S. aggression in Vietnam."

Vancouver Center, though not asking that the U.S. government withdraw from Vietnam, scores "the interference in the affairs of Vietnam by the U.S. which by its unwarranted attacks on North Vietnam has intensified the danger of extending the war in Asia or beyond . . ." It proposes that "the Canadian government demand a cease-fire, and the resumption of peace talks."

Saanich NDP association calls for the support of Douglas' position and a resolution from Point Grey asks Canada to protest the U.S.'s actions in the UN.

There is a definite decline this year in the number of resolutions sent in by the constituencies, reflecting the weakened state of the party. This is particularly noticable in the area of Canada's participation in the various military alliances. For many years the NDP in B.C. has been opposed to NATO. Although it adds a rider that a U.N. army be supported, Vancouver Center urges withdrawal "from all foreign alliances that require this country to add to the military machine of another country . . ."

The upsurge in consciousness among the modern women as to their particular position under capitalism is reflected in several resolutions which attempt to outline demands that would make the NDP at least reflect the drive for full female equality in Canada. One resolution, from Van Center, calls for the setting up of "a Women's bureau, with adequate staff and financial support, to safeguard the legal, economic and emotional rights of women and children." The constituency also calls for an NDP government to "encourage municipalities to establish adequate child care facilities."

Other resolutions before the delegates call for divorce to "be legalized where both parties request it" and that birth control devices and information be made freely available and that abortions be legalized. Richmond NDP calls for "a law prohibiting job discrimination because of sex" and seeks to raise the minimum wage of women to that of men and make compulsory equal wages for equal work.

Despite a sustained campaign to get the membership to accept its policy of purging those whose ideas it can't argue against, the party brass have not been all too successful. There are still voices of protest being heard.

Mackenzie constituency declares that "Whereas the drop in membership and financial fortune has preceded expulsions and undemocratic orders restricting the right to association; Therefore be it resolved that this convention go on record as being opposed to the policy of accusing, judging and condemning people for not accepting decisions and conclusions of the provincial executive as final and for wishing to study, learn and decide for themselves as an attempted solution to the problem." Vancouver Center asks that all discipline proceedings be open to the members, and Richmond asks for a full enquiry into the expulsions.

The coming convention will have the peculiar distinction of being confronted with the appeals of over twenty expelled members and from that alone the left wing of the party is going to be weak. But regardless of the outcome of that fight the resolutions already mentioned can serve as the basis for the building of a new socialist caucus and the educating and reorganization of the party.

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Across Country with the NDP

ALBERTA VICTORY

The 21 year Social Credit monopoly of the Edson provincial riding in Alberta ended with a 1,200 vote increase for the NDP and victory for the Liberals by a narrow majority of 93 votes. Social Credit dropped from first place to third, with the Tories well behind.

Social Credit Premier Manning's promises of construction of a major pulp mill and a terminus for its new railway were to no avail. The number turning out to vote rose from 4,751 to 6,125, out of a possible 8,732. The mushroom rise of the vote tallied up behind NDP provincial leader Neil Reimer speaks well for the future growth of the movement in Alberta.

FEDERAL RALLY

The rank and file will be relieved to know that the coming federal convention scheduled for Toronto July 12-15 will be conducted on the regular plenary system.

Several months ago the top brass circulated a recommendation that the convention adopt a format which they called the "open committee" system. It was alleged to be a compromise between the Saskatchewan panel system and last year's Ontario convention which they frankly admitted was really that of an educational seminar, and not a convention.

The open committee system would have seen the federal council appoint a series of representative committees to which all resolutions would be channelled, and which, prior to the convention, would prepare composite or substitute policy statements. Once the convention was assembled these committees would hold two afternoon sessions open to delegates. The committee could if it desired take consensus votes. At the plenary session it would make a report and move concurrence. It was up to the committee to see that differing views were heard from.

Without explanation this proposal has now been dropped, although it is known that there was opposition.

This still leaves certain matters open to assure a democratic convention. The winning of rank and file representation on the convention committees, traditionally grabbed up by the big names, and the establishment of the democratic right that resolutions can be ammended from the floor.

Correction:

In the article, "The Quebec Left Searches the Way to Construct a Mass Labor Party," by R. Brock, (Vanguard, Mid-March, 1965) the sentence which reads, "While they have been even less inactive than the NDP leaders" (p 2, column 4) should read, according to the original copy submitted, "have been even more inactive . . ."

VIETNAM POLICY

Shamefaced and after stumbling about for several minutes, NDP MP for Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands, Colin Cameron, stated that he guessed that the party has no position on the question of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The question was posed by NDP members attending the St. Paul's (Toronto) federal nomination convention who sought a clearer statement of opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam than any of the leadership, including T. C. Douglas, have so far made.

The audience was not satisfied with this statement which Cameron appeared to think got him off the hook. Expressing the general sentiment of the meeting, one of the members urged Cameron to return to Ottawa and press the NDP parliamentary caucus to take a public stand for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

TORONTO COUNCIL

The annual meeting of the Toronto Area Council of the NDP was notable on three counts:

1) A strong resolution introduced by Beaches has committed the party to entering municipal politics "hard and fast." A clause leaving the question of candidates appearing under the party banner up to the individual riding was deleted when the resolution was presented for the vote, and it passed overwhelmingly.

2) A proposal that the coming federal convention change the party's name from New Democratic to Democratic Party, supported by a liberal-reformist currently headed up by Val Scott, was defeated. Statements urging that the name be changed to Labor Party won considerable applause.

3) In his opening remarks Ontario leader Donald MacDonald paraphrased previous remarks he has been making identifying the party with the trade union movement. Prominent party spokesmen such as Reid Scott MP have attacked this view. MacDonald's strong identification with labor—he said that as far as he was concerned he would welcome labor "swamping the NDP"—won enthusiastic support.

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MAY DAY

By The Editors

The initiative being taken by the Montreal Comité de Cordination des Mouvements de Gauche again places Quebec in the forefront. The committee is sponsoring a united May Day celebration in Montreal that will bear at least some semblance to the way labor's day will be celebrated in practically every other sector of the globe, but North America.

May Day was born in America — in the great struggle for the shorter work week, around which a fighting unity of labor was forged.

With the declaration by the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore 1866 "to free the labor of this country from capitalist slavery with the winning of the shorter work day," eight hour leagues mushroomed up in all important industrial centers. In Canada the campaign for the 9-hour day burst out into the streets with the 1872 Toronto Printers strike.

It was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U.S. and Canada, later known as the AFL, that passed a resolution at its 1884 convention declaring from May 1, 1886 on, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." And together with the Knights of Labor it prepared for and called a nation-wide strike to win the 8 hour day on May 1 1886.

It was Chicago's Haymarket Square which witnessed a murderous police assault on an 8-hour day demonstration, a bombing by an unknown provocateur, and the frame-up and martyrdom of eight anarchist leaders, that immortalized May Day.

In 1889, the first Congress of the Second International, to whose ghost the NDP is affiliated today, inspired by the struggles in America, declared May Day to be labor's day. It set aside May Day as the day of "demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions."

In many countries of the world May Day has retained its full significance as a day of mass demonstrations, of anti-capital struggle, a day dedicated to working class unity,to international solidarity of all working peoples, and thus, against imperialist war.

This May Day won't see masses in the streets of Montreal behind these banners. It will be celebrated, as it has been over the past decades in America, with a meeting—but this time a meeting with a difference.

Among the participants will be leading representatives of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec, Parti Pris, Socialisme '65, Révolution Québecoise, La Ligue Socialiste Ouvière, Le Parti Communiste, Le Caucus de Gauche, Le Club Socialiste Jacques Perreault, Groupe d'Action Poulaire, La Revue Socialiste, and it is to be hoped, the NDP. There will be a speech by Fernand Daoust, 1st vice-president of the Federation Travail du Quebec, or Steel leader Emile Boudreault; the presidents of the FTQ, CSN, UCC and UGEO are expected to accept invitations to make short speeches.

Whlie it will not be a demonstration of the tremendous power of the working class, this Montreal meeting, bringing together every force on the left, speaks well for the future.

It shows that some of the past sectarianism and dogmatism that has been an inhibiting factor in the growth of labor and socialism on this continent is wearing thin. Having found it possible to share a common platform on the broad aims of May Day, we can expect that in the future it will be more possible to collaborate in the most practical sense in the struggle for a shorter work day to meet the challenge of automation, and against the looming threat of U.S. imperialist aggression escalating into the nuclear holocaust.

And we anticipate that the left in the rest of Canada will learn from the Quebec experience.

#107

WE ARE INSPIRED

The $555.00 that bounced in here from Alberta completely staggers us. We had no sooner announced the drive to raise $4,000 to put a firm base under the Vanguard when the money orders appeared in our mail box. One of them included a terse note — "It is imperative that we do what we can do now that the cracks are appearing in the capitalist superstructure."

Supporters in Toronto quickly pledged themselves to raise $2,500 and supporters in Vancouver pledged another $1,100.

If Toronto and Vancouver correctly estimate the possibilities in their area—and we don't hear another clink in our letter box from our many other supporters across the country — it appears certain that we will reach our objective by May Day.

But now we are all for going well over the top.

#108

VANGUARD DRIVE BREAKS RECORD

Our estimation of the solidarity that our friends and supporters feel with the Vanguard has been too modest. We have proven wrong on just how far you are prepared to reach down and deliver from your hard-earned cash.

Right now we have received just short of $3,000 of the $4,000 we set ourselves to raise by May Day. Toronto has forwarded $1,774.28 and assures us that there is at least another thousand dollars there that is absolutely guaranteed. And so it goes with Vancouver, Ottawa, and other points.

For the first time in any of our campaigns Newfoundland appears on our scoreboard. And for the first time in many years Quebec does not — for our co-thinkers there are now publishing a French monthly, La Lutte Ouvrier. The fifth issue is out and all their funds, with our hearty agreement, are being and will continue to be devoted to making it more effective in every way.

Our warmest thanks to everyone for freeing us to get on with the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Cuba's Castro Appeals For Unity Against U.S. Assault In Vietnam

(*from Workers' Vanguard, April 1965)*

The major portion of the text of a speech by Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It was delivered at the University of Havana on March 13 at a meeting commemorating the unsucessful student attack on Batista's Presidential Palace and the martyrdom of Jose Antonio Echeverria.

The Revolution has powerful enemies, and in first place, one powerful enemy, Yankee imperialism. This enemy threatens us and will threaten us for some time to come. This enemy will not easily resign itself — although it has no alternative — to the revolutionary successes of our people. This enemy, not here, but thousands of miles from here, is attacking other countries as it is criminally attacking the people of North Viet Nam and the revolutionary people of South Viet Nam.

This enemy is intervening in the Congo. It sends its ships, its marines and its planes to any corner of the world. It takes advantage of divisions among the revolutionaries, of the lamentable divisions that exist in the socialist camp. Unfortunately they calculate, analyze, and take advantage of everything than can weaken the revolutionary front.

That is to say that circumstances exist that involve dangers for us all, for us and for other nations in other parts of the world that fight for their independence and freedom. Dangers are not lacking.

I am not going to speak at length about the problems related to the differences and divisions in the socialist camp. We don't even know when we may have to speak of this at length, because the problem is not to speak for the sake of speaking; the problem is to speak in order to say some thing, the problem now is to speak when, by speaking or talk ing or saying something, there is a positive and useful result and not a result that is positive and useful only to imperialism and the enemies of the peoples.

We'd rather not have to face such bitter circumstances. As far as talk is concerned, enough and more than enough has been said already. As far as division is concerned, unfortunately, enough and more than is necessary has been said, more than suits the interests of the peoples and what, unfortunately, is useful to the interests of the enemies of the peoples.

But for us, small countries that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Viet Nam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see with serenity and to understand that these divisions and differences that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are in special situations: here, ninety miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes.

Here it's not a question of analyzing the problems under dispute theoretically or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that

attacks, in the face of an enemy that becomes more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division; division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division.

And at any time in history, at any period of mankind, since the first revolutionary appeared in the world, since revolutions became social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively, until the time revolutions were made consciously, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people — which took place when Marxism arose — division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never revolutionary strategy, was never intelligent strategy.

And in this revolutionary process we have all from the beginning, been educated in the idea that everything that divides, weakens, that everything that sep arates us, is bad; is bad for our people and good for imperialism.

And the mass of our people understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people.

And we ask ourselves whether imperialism has disappeared; we ask ourselves if the imperialists are not attacking North Viet Nam; we ask ourselves whether in North Viet Nam men and women of the people are not dying.

And who can be made to think or to believe that division is proper or useful? Perhaps it's not seen that the imperialists are advancing in North Viet Nam? Perhaps it's not seen that the tactic the imperialists are following there is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam, attacking North Viet Nam first under the pretext of the attacks being in reprisal, later arrogating to themselves the right to attack whenever they want to, and continuing to use masses of planes against the fighters of South Viet Nam?

What is the situation at this moment? The imperialists are talking about a naval blockade, landing their marines in South Viet Nam, sending aircraft carriers, mobilizing masses of planes to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam; to attack, with every available means of war, the guerrillas in South Viet Nam, reserving the right to attack North Viet Nam whenever it seems best to them, carrying on this kind of aerial war, without any sacrifice on their part, bombing with hundreds of planes and even sending their helicopters to rescue the pilots of the downed planes.

Doubtless the imperialists want a comfortable kind of struggle! Doubtless the imperialists want a kind of war with only industrial losses! That is — "so many planes lost". Doubtless the peoples of South Viet Nam and of North Viet Nam suffer all this! And suffer it in their own flesh because there are men and women there who die, in South Viet Nam and in North Viet Nam, victims of the US straffing and victims of the US bombing.

And they don't hesitate in the least to declare that they propose to continue all that because even the attacks on North Viet Nam have not had the effect of overcoming the

divisions within the socialist family. And who doubts that this division encourages the imperialists? Who doubts that to face the enemy with a united front would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurous attacks and their barefaced intervention in that part of the world? Who is to be convinced of this? With what reason, with what logic? And who benefits from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement! And this truly hurts us! Because for us the liberation movement is not a demogoglc word but a slogan that we have always felt deeply!

Because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the navel of the world; because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the revolutionary centre of the world. And when we speak of these problems, we speak with absolute sincerity and we speak disinterestedly. We did not win revolutionary power in bourgeois elections but fighting weapons in hand; we speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and the threats of imperialism.

We speak in the name of a people who for the sake of the strength of the revolutionary movement, for the sake of the strength of the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate. A people who did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret—we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists. That is, that in the matter of revolutionary convic tion and sincerity no one taught us anything, no one taught us anything, just as no one taught our liberators of 1895 and 1868, the path of independence and of dignity. We are the people of the First and Second Declarations of Havana which we didn't copy from any document but which were the pure expression of the spirit of our people, deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist.

As this has been the feeling and the thinking of our revolution, proved as often as was necessary, proved without hesitation of any kind, without yielding in any way, without contradictions of any type, we have the right to ask — as many other peoples must ask — who benefits from these disagreements if not our enemies ?

And of course we have full right, the full and absolute right, that I don't think anyone will dare to question, to proscribe such dissensions and such Byzantine battles from our country and our people.

And it should be known that it is our Party who directs the propaganda here, that it is our Party who gives guidance here, that this is a question that comes under our

jurisdiction! And if we don't want the apple of discord to come here, because we simply don't want it here, then no one can smuggle it in. Our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists. Our only insuperable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism. The only enemy against whom we are ready to break our lances, is imperialism.

As far as anything else is concerned, we don't understand any other language, we don't under stand the language of division. Before the concrete case of a country attacked by imperialism, like Viet Nam, we have one position. We don't act, as perhaps some think, as perhaps above all the imperialists think, on the basis of "when you see your neighbor's house on fire, you throw water on your own roof"—in reality, the way we act is, when we see our neighbor's house on fire, we want to share this difficulty.

We are not people to be frightened by these events; rather we are kindled to action by them. And we have one position. We are in favor of giving Viet Nam all the aid that may be necessary, we are in favor of this aid being arms and men, we are in favor of the socialist camp running the risks that may be necessary for Viet Nam.

We are quite aware of the fact that in case of any serious international complication we will be one of the first targets of imperialism, but this does not worry us and has never worried us. And we don't keep quiet or act like simpletons in order that our lives be spared.

This is, in all frankness and all sincerity, our reasoned, dispassionate stand, emanating from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary, and let no one harbor the illusion that they can give us lessons on revolution.

I hope that errors of underestimation be not made, ignoring the peculiarities of our people, because Yankee imperialism has committed lots of errors of this kind. One of its characteristics was disdain for others, disdain for and underestimation of small nations. And imperialism has committed great colossal errors of underestimation in respect to our revolutionary people. **It would be regrettable if others committed similar errors.** Our sincere policy has been, and is that of uniting, because we are not and will never be satellites of anyone.

And in this whole problem we have taken a very dispassionate very honest and very sincere position . . .

Le Peuple **editorial outlines view of**

ALGERIA ON VIETNAM CRISIS

(from Workers' Vanguard, April 1965)

The following editorial, indicating the position of the Algerian government *(then led by Bel Bella --ed.)* in relation to the crisis precipitated by the U.S. attack on North Vietnam, appeared in the April 8 issue of the Algiers daily *Le Peuple.* The editorial is of unusual interest because of its revelations concerning UN Secretary General U Thant's efforts to open negotiations with Peking and Hanoi, using Algiers as an intermediary. The editorial was entitled "Algeria's contribution toward restoring peace in Vietnam." The translation is by the labor-press service *World Outlook (SWP, New York--ed.]*

* * *

On April 1, the Algerian charge d'affaires at the UN, Hadj Benab-delkader Azzout, met Mr. Thant, secretary general of the United Nations. Although both of them maintained complete silence about the subject of their discussion, it was believed to be linked with *(former Mao Tse-tung foreign affairs minister --ed.)*Chou En-lai's trip to Algeria at the time and to the latest developments in the American aggression against Vietnam.

Tuesday [April 6], Mr. Bouattoura, the Algerian ambassador to the United Nations relayed a message from President Ben Bella to the secretary general of the Unit ed Nations and confirmed in a press release that Algeria had played the role of intermediary between China and U Thant, who is seeking to arrange a conference of all the interested parties in the problem of Vietnam.

Mr. Bouattoura, who held two conferences with the UN secretary general before leaving for Algeria, refused to reveal any de tails about the conferences.

President Ben Bella's message to the secretary general of the United Nations provided particularly important clarifications and specifications on the position of People's China with regard to the war feeing conducted by the USA against the Vietnamese people and on the means by which this conflict might be settled. The press and journalists have speculated considerably about the nature of President Ben Bella's message. Much of this lacks any foundation and some of it is obviously inspired by subjective considerations. As in the case of the firm and energetic position adopted by the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] during the national revolution [in Algeria], the government of People's China holds that the basic problem in Vietnam is clear and unmistakable.

In Vietnam a colonial war is being waged by the USA against a people who are seeking only to exercise their right to political and economic independence.

If the USA really wants to bring the war to an end, only one road is open: to negotiate with the Vietnamese revolutionists who are fighting arms in hand.

No other power and no other country has any right to negotiate their fate except the Vietnamese people themselves.

Observers at the United Nations believe that Mr. Thant asked Mr. Bouattoura, before leaving for Algiers, to talk with the Chinese prime minister, to sound out what possibilities for success there might be in his taking a trip to the Far East, particularly to Peking *(today Bejing)* and Hanoi *(re-named Ho Chi Minh City after the victory of the NLF against the US-- ed.)*

But it was felt that it would be useless for the secretary general of the United Nations to undertake a trip to Peking and Hanoi. Because the solution to the problem of Vietnam is not to be found in either Peking or Hanoi but in Saigon; that is, between the Vietnamese people represented by the NLF [National Liberation Front, called "Viet Cong" for propaganda purposes by U.S. government and press] and the imperialist power combatting them.

The Vietnamese people have the right to ask, as a precondition, that their rights be recognized, that their revolutionary leaders be recognized as their representatives, and that the colonial nature of the problem and its meaning be recognized, and that any settlement of the war must necessarily be made with them.

The fact that revolutionary Algeria was chosen by the secretary general and People's China to undertake a responsibility that no other country of the third world was in position to assume, is to be noted.

Just as the Algerian people made recognition of their right to self-determination a condition sine qua non [indispensable] be fore any negotiations with France, so the Vietnamese have the right to do the same with the USA. It is now up to the USA to accept this and to enter into direct negotiations with the genuine representative of the Vietnamese people, that is, the NLF.

Manifesto of the Fourth International

AID THE VIETNAM REVOLUTION!

from Workers' Vanguard, April 1965)

The following is the text of a manifesto issued in Paris by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world-wide organization of revolutionary socialists founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.

Each day the aims of the criminal aggression of American imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam become clearer.

For a time it was claimed that "'reprisals" were being carried out for raids by the South Vietnamese freedom fighters on American military bases implanted in their country. This pretext has now been abandoned. American planes are continuing to bomb towns, villages and ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. American marines have now been committed for the first time as ground troops against the South Vietnam freedom fighters. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is being readied for deployment against the shores of North Vietnam in order to blockade its ports and cut off its coastal shipping.

Thus the Pentagon's blueprint for extending the conflict is being methodically carried out, as is openly proclaimed in the American press. The aim is to progressively throw the full weight of American imperialism into the balance in hope of halting the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is of little moment whether the State Department is simultaneously pursuing a "secret" design to compel the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to "negotiate"; for Washington refuses to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. Washington is brandishing over both the freedom fighters of South Vietnam and the government of North Vietnam its crushing military superiority and the threat of plunging the world into a nuclear conflict; and it has repeatedly made clear that the only basis it considers "acceptable" for negotiation is the "withdrawal" of the freedom fighters from the territory of their own country.

It is barefaced imperialist propaganda worthy of a Goebbels to maintain that the partisans of the National Liberation Front are "foreign troops" and not genuine revolutionists nurtured by the South Vietnamese people themselves, the best representatives of the peasants and workers who rose in revolt against the landlords and comprador boourgeoisie *(native agents acting in the interests of a foreign power -ed.)* and their policy of supporting -- with the aid of the money and guns of a foreign power -- the bloody dictatorship of the Diems and the not less bloody dictatorship of the generals who succeeded them!

As if a revolution mounted by the broad mass of the people, which has torn nine-tenths of its arms from the hands of the foe, could be told to "play dead" or "give up" at a signal from Hanoi, Peking, Moscow or anywhere else!

Most serious of all in this increasingly dangerous situation is the apathy which the leaderships of the principal workers' states display in face of the step-by-step "escalation" of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Up to now the Kremlin officials and the Communist Party leaderships largely under their influence or control have deplored the American aggressions as a "serious threat to the consolidation of peace." What "consolidation"? What "peace"? The only peace to be found through consolidation of the military aggression and counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism is the peace of the grave and slavery. The peoples of the world today will never acquiesce, no matter what the refusal costs them.

This is a great new fact in world reality which everyone who wants peace must take as basic in working out an international policy aimed at averting World War III and a nuclear holocaust.

The government of the People's Republic of China appears at the moment to be most concerned about pinning on Moscow the blame for a possible defeat of the revolution in Vietnam. But unless Peking itself acts, its course can be interpreted as "keeping hands off" while the Pentagon moves ahead. The shouting at Moscow would then look like nothing but phrasemongering designed to cover up a betrayal. No matter how correct Peking's criticisms of Moscow may be, it has its own responsibilities in the situation, including the defense of the new China.

The government of the People's Republic of China would do better to offer Khrushchev's heirs a joint public commitment to protect the common interests of the two workers' states, and those of the socialist revolution, in Southeast Asia. Then let the workers of the world judge the response!

There are some who have been taken in by the propaganda of American imperialism which aims at convincing its current and prospective victims that unless the Pentagon militarists are meekly granted what they want, then you can expect them to start a nuclear war, even if it means the utter destruction of the United States.

How little these easily impressed "experts" understand the real nature of the Washington "hawks"; or, more properly, "vultures." One of the reasons their "escalation" is proceeding step by step is to carefully test the resistance so as to be able to stop or even retreat in case it proves tougher than expected. Instead of being "provoked" into a nuclear answer if they receive an effective reply to their provocation, the American militarists will at once reassess the situation.

Grave Danger

But if the resistance proves softer than expected, then these same militarists will proceed more brazenly than before. Precisely in this lies one of the gravest dangers. The emboldened White House and Pentagon can become caught up in a course in which their deepening commitment makes retreat increasingly difficult. This could be the "oversight," the "accident," that takes them over the brink into World War III.

The only language that imperialism understands and respects is action sufficient for it to sense the real forces it is up against. Wrathful or tearful verbal protests only arouse contempt among these rulers of the capitalist world. They take mere shouts and polite or nasty letters as signs that it is safe to proceed according to plan. They become more and more aggressive since their aggression has cost them nothing; in fact, "paying off" from their limited point of view. The only way to block the "escalation" and to cut it short before it is too late, is to show the imperialists on the scene itself that their course is much more dangerous than they had believed, that their calculations are wrong, and that their military aggression did not pay off and promises still worse if continued.

--===start box==========

Unity in Japan

Japan's Socialists and Communists will join forces In the face of the threats posed by U.S. aggression In Vietnam. Tomomi Narita, secretary general of the Socialist Party, told the press his own party could not hope to settle the developing crisis in Asia and Japan alone. April 26 saw the most powerful anti-U.S. demonstration in Tokyo since 1960, and bigger ones are predicted for May Day.

--===end box==========

Yankee imperialism is not in a desperate impasse at the moment. It is not caught up in a situation in which it feels there is no way out, even temporarily, except to risk suicide. Its military and economic strength stand at the greatest height in history. Prosperity reigns in the United States. Even if the capitalists are willing to risk from 7O,000,000 to 140,000,000 Americans in a nuclear conflict, why should they risk their present profits, their present comforts and the pleasure of their latest gadgets?

Their course in Vietnam is not the product of hopeless despair, but the consequence of cold and deliberate calculation in which they evaluate the risks as being low and in any case ascertainable as they proceed. They are banking on the weakness of the leadership of the workers' states, particularly the leadership of the Soviet Union. They are counting on the divisions, especially the division on the governmental level between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

They expect all this to hinder and block the response that should have normally been expected to their monstrous decision to widen their intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam into a war against North Vietnam, and -- if this proves workable – into a crippling military thrust against the People's Republic of China. If they should run into a vigorous reaction at the very beginning, then, the results of their test probe would be read in Washington as a signal to reconsider. The elementary needs of self-defense would call for retreat from a palpably suicidal adventure.

This is what Fidel Castro obviously referred to in his speech of March 3, when he said: "We must show the imperialists that we are not afraid of them. When you don't resist them, they continue further; but when you resist them, they stop."

This is what the Afro-Asian students and the handful of Moscow students who joined them meant in their demonstration before the American embassy in Moscow, protesting against the aggression in North Vietnam, when they shouted at the Kremlin authorities who used violence on them: "Traitors! You've sold out to the imperialists!"

Fate of Revolution

This is what the vanguard of the masses in many countries indicated they wanted as they joined in demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

It is not only the fate of this revolution that is involved but the fate of the whole colonial revolution. One of the things which Yankee imperialism is seeking to establish in Vietnam is a precedent for something new -- its "right" to intervene with bombs, napalm and ground troops whenever it pleases anywhere in the world.

It is seeking to establish American imperialism as the final law, the ultimate disposer of the destinies of all countries and all mankind. It proposes to nail down its "supreme right" to suppress revolutions by all means wherever they flare up or wherever they are incipient on the globe, from Brazil to the Congo to Vietnam!

If suppression of the colonial revolution is the immediate aim of this Johnson "doctrine," the workers' states are the ultimate target and this includes the Soviet Union. Should American imperialism get away with wiping out villages and towns of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with bombs and jellied gasoline, its appetite will increase ravenously for a similar test of the People's Republic of China.

This can be seen from certain propaganda themes already appearing in the big daily newspapers of the U.S., such as the advisability of striking "before China gets a nuclear arsenal," and the "common interests" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in "containing" revolutionary China. The final target is the Soviet Union. Let it be recalled that Hitler had "common interests" with Stalin in the period when he was preparing his invasion of the Soviet Union.

To block the dangerous "escalation" initiated by Johnson in Southeast Asia, all possible steps must be taken at once to strengthen the revolution in South Vietnam and to build up the defenses of North Vietnam. This requires immediate material aid on a large scale and the opening of a campaign of effective revolutionary socialist propaganda directed at the American forces. Let the example of the early days of the first workers' state be recalled, when Lenin and Trotsky appealed directly to the troops sent against them. The Bolshevik leaflets calling for fraternization with the revolution did as much to weaken the invading imperialist forces as the brilliant military defense put up by the newly formed Red Army.

Let the American imperialists today learn the true danger they are running in advancing on the mainland of Asia. On the other hand, to take the course of capitulating to blackmail only encourages the warmongers, invites further extension of the military adventure and increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

It is particularly urgent that the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China close ranks before the common danger. This does not mean giving up the ideological and political differences; these can be continued and threshed out on a party level. But let the governments close ranks!

A joint statement should be issued clearly and solemnly warning imperialism of the fundamental solidarity of the two countries and their common interest in defending their planned economies and other revolutionary gains against the threat that has now been raised against them in the clearest form through the bombing of North Vietnam and the deepening military involvement of American imperialism on the mainland of Asia.

It is equally urgent for both governments to join in a clear declaration of intention to protect both North Vietnam and the revolution in South Vietnam and to show by action in the most concrete way that this defense has begun, will be improved as rapidly as possible and will be carried through to the end with genuinely Leninist determination.

And in every country it is urgent that the workers, the youth, the students, the women should show by the thousands and the millions their concern about the criminal aggression of American imperialism. Let them call HALT! to Johnson through demonstrations of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and their revolution.

Down with imperialism and its policy of blood and lies!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class with the beleaguered Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the world socialist revolution, the only means of definitively freeing humanity from the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust!

ORKERS nguard

#109 June, 1965 Toronto — Price 10 cents

For Public Ownership of Forest Industry - BC NDP

By A. Engler

Over 300 delegates attended the B.C. NDP provincial convention in Vancouver May 22nd to 24th. This convention again showed that the NDP is firmly based on the B.C. trade union movement. It showed that the delegates were more radical than the leadership, and showed the need for organized long-term socialist opposition to the present leadership.

The leadership and program remain substantially unchanged. The publicly announced intention of Erhart Regier and a caucus of right-wing former CCFers to sweep out the old executive, particularly trade union leaders like E. P. O'Neal and Paddy Neale, fizzled out completely. This caucus had been operating since Easter and had from time to time claimed the support of provincial leader Robert Strachan and other MLA's and MPs.

On its last day, the convention voted to uphold the expulsion of socialist youth and long time CCFers. (see other BC NDP article.) The Socialist Caucus was numerically weaker than last year, a product of the expulsions which for the first time in many years took veteran socialists off the convention floor. In spite of this the Socialist Caucus posted a five point program at the entrance of the hall.

The points were: "Public ownership of basic industries; no political expulsions; reinstate the 12 appellants; adjourn the convention for collective presentation of the petition against U.S. agression in Vietnam at the U.S. consulate; and equality for women — biological, social and economic."

The caucus announced its meetings over the microphones, circulated a leaflet, ran a slate of candidates whose names and pictures were posted beside its program, and played a vocal and dynamic role on the convention floor.

The debate on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic took place immediately after a speech by T. C. Douglas on the first day of the convention. This speech was much more militant in tone than those given by provincial leaders.

As soon as Douglas concluded, the policy committee brought down two resolutions, one deal-

(See Page 3 — WEST COAST)

Don't Miss Our Next Issue

Along with other important items it will feature an extensive interview with Henrique Cerquiera, closest collaborator of the recently murdered head of the Portuguese National Liberation Front, General Humberto Delgado.

West Coast NDP Convention

(From Page One)

ing with Vietnam, the other with the Dominican Republic. Both resolutions deplored U.S. actions, and called for the withdrawal of American troops and their replacement by UN troops.

Delegate Carl Stolk from Richmond, who later ran for first vice-president on the Socialist Caucus slate, suggested that the convention adjourn temporarily and reassemble in front of the U.S. Consulate to "dramatically demonstrate our opposition to U.S. policy."

During the debate, right-wingers hurriedly gathered up delegates from the hall. When the standing vote was called the chairman said, "All those in favor of a mass trek across the street to that empty building."

About 70 delegates voted in favor, and 108 against — a very close vote when the leadership's attempt to ridicule the motion is taken into account. There was a clear division between younger delegates who voted for the demonstration, and older delegates who vote against. The resolutions presented by the committee on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic were then immediately passed with no discussion.

The longest debate of the first day was on Forest Policy. The leadership's position was presented by Prof. Walter Young. Their position was crown ownership of forest lands but it presumed that the government would collaborate with the huge privately-owned lumber processing monopolies in their overall plans.

Delegate Cliff Greer said that the program as presented did not make its policy clear in regard to nationalization. Carl Stolk called for the public ownership of all phases of the forest industry, saying; "The forest industry is to British Columbia what the Steel industry is to Britain. We cannot plan our economy unless we own it."

Tom Phillips from New Westminster said, "the only way the forest industry can be controlled is if it is taken over holus bolus." Harold Steves said, "Who controls the forest industry, controls all the industry of B.C." Bruce Elphinstone said, "if we don't carry on a policy of nationalization, Bennett is going to outflank us from the left."

In spite of the big guns rolled up at the end of the debate, and in spite of the long campaign by the brass to convince the membership that public ownership of the forest industry was unnecessary, the referral back, calling for a publicly-owned integrated forest industry, passed overwhelmingly —by a ratio of 3 or 4 to 1.

The conservatism of the leadership was shown up on a number of issues. For example the policy committee opposed the CCF and trade union idea of a guaranteed income as too "pioneering". They were defeated on this issue. Similarly the policy committee rejected a resolution calling for legalization of abortions, and the education committee had its vague meaningless draft rejected unanimously by the convention.

All those elected to office were on the trade union-establishment slate. The trade union caucus functioned openly in the convention, and had announced its meetings from the floor. While there were only about 50 delegates directly representing trade unions, over 75 trade unionists, including those elected from constituencies, participated in the trade union caucus meetings.

The caucus had two immediate objectives: defeating the Regier caucus' anti-trade union plans, and re-electing the old leadership. Regier got only 64 votes for president, Snowsell got 175 and Ammy Dalgleish for the Socialist Caucus got 42.

The trade union caucus was the main strength of the old leadership of Strachan, Young and Gargrave, and its narrow unimaginative, pro-capitalist program. This has lead some who participated in the Socialist Caucus to conclude that it is necessary to organize an opposition to trade union domination of the NDP. Some have even suggested that attempts will be made to work with the Regier caucus for this end.

Consistent socialists must strongly oppose this. The Regier forces represent the worst of the old CCF. Programatically they are no different than the present leadership. They are just as hostile to socialists. They do not have the slightest influence in the working class, neither in the trade unions, nor in the constituency organizations.

A struggle for a socialist program and a socialist leadership cannot be a struggle against the trade union movement. It is a struggle to win rank-and-file trade unionists, within the unions, and in the constituency organizations, to a socialist alternative. This convention already saw several young trade unionists take a leading role in the Socialist Caucus.

The solution, as it was before this convention, is to more firmly root the NDP in the working class and win its ranks to socialism. The O'Neal's and the Young's will lose control of the party only when it is infused with militant youth and trade unionists. As the NDP becomes a mass working class party, the present leadership will be tossed aside like so many banana skins. The more that is done to build the NDP on the grass roots level, the more we struggle to build a principled socialist opposition, the sooner this will be.

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WORKERS Vanguard #109 Jun 1965

Committee Set Up to Aid Victims of S.A. Apartheid

Saturday, 15th May, marked the birth, in Toronto, of the Canadian Alexander Defence Committee to provide funds for the aid of the victims of South African Apartheid. The occasion was a literary afternoon where distinguished Canadian writers made a personal appearance and a well known folk singer, Bill Price, sang with feeling and fine voice several old British ballads. Austin Clarke, novelist and essayist, was M.C. and himself read from his novel, **The Survivors At The Crossing,** as well as some sensitively chosen poems by Martin Carter, poet of British Guiana. With a fine laconic style Al Purdy read generously from several of his books of verses, including his latest, **Caribou Horses,** while a young poet. Joe Rosenblatt, at the insistence of the audience, read some of his work most effectively.

Briefly but movingly, Miss Regula Modlich, secretary of the committee, explained the history and aims of the Alexander Defence Committees in West Germany, England and the U.S., which have, done magnificent work in collecting funds and publicising the tragic fate of young Dr. Alexander and the ten men and women with him, who were condemned to long terms of imprisonment under the savage Sabotage Act in South Africa. Some of the world's most distinguished writers, scientists, historians are acting as sponsors to the Committees, and it is the hope of the Canadian Committee to obtain the same generous response in its work, not only for the Alexander eleven but also for other victims of Apartheid. Over $50 was added to the committee's funds.

Dr. Neville Alexander

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ALMOST ONE THIRD OPPOSE EXPULSIONS OF LSA-ERS IN BC NDP Internal Democracy Debate

Some two years after a group of socialists were expelled by the leadership from the British Columbia section of the New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Youth, and in the face of a continuing campaign of slanders against the expelled's views and persons, a sizeable number of the delegates to the BC NDP convention expressed their opposition to the executive's actions.

Phil Courneyeur, who challenged the delegates at the May 24th closed session to affirm the right of members of the League for Socialist Action to hold membership in the NDP, won the support of one third of the delegates. 86 voted against his expulsion and 173 upheld the executive action. BC secretary of the League for Socialist Action, Ruth Bullock, who in her address charged the present liberal-reformist leadership of the party with victimizing the socialists in the party as a scapegoat for their dismal failure to build the movement, polled 81 votes against 181.

The discipline committee, with four in favor and one abstaining, had recommended that the executive's actions against Bullock and Courneyeur be upheld by the delegates. It unanimously recommended that five of the youth expelled from the NDY in 1962 and from the NDP in April 1964 be readmitted since they all said they were not members of the LSA. It also recommended that three other youth be conditionally reinstated — the condition being that they are not members of the LSA or that they give up membership in it.

Because the committee recommended reversal of the expulsion of the five, it was the executive, who had originally pressed the charges, that was given the opportunity to reply. The five themselves were given no opportunity to appear and were treated as a group. Despite the third vice-president's appeal, 99 delegates voted for reinstatement, with 161 against. The vote in the case of the three other youth, who were not allowed to address the convention although Professor Young did on behalf of the executive, was 93 for reinstatement and 169 against.

Since the discipline committee upheld their expulsion both Bullock and Courneyeur were given 15 minutes to appeal.

In his remarks to the convention Phil Courneyeur said he was an active member of the LSA. He defended the right of the LSA to be active in the NDP, since it is a political tendency within the working class movement.

"Any worker who embraces socialist solutions to the problems of the working class has a right to membership in the NDP," he said.

He ridiculed charges that the expelled had disrupted constituency associations, pointing out that even after he had been expelled from the NDY, his riding, Burnaby-Richmond, hired him to direct a successful federal election campaign.

Ruth Bullock declared she had publicly stated she was B.C. secretary of the League for Socialist Action even before the founding of the NDP. She had been publicly identified with the LSA, and until August 1964, was an executive member of the NDP club in her area.

She said the LSA was not a political party, but a grouping of socialists dedicated to winning the NDP to a socialist program. She then read sections from **What is the LSA** to point out that the LSA program has an important role to play within the NDP. She ended her statement by saying "The proscribing of the journals of tendencies: **Workers Vanguard** and **Press** is, on the one hand, an intolerable piece of impudence for the leadership to hand out to the membership and, on the other hand, a firm example of the weakness of the political ideas held by this leadership. All socialists urge you to read and investigate everything. Test your ideas — test and compare all ideas and be informed . . . As long as the NDP is a Labor Party I will continue to support it. However, excluding socialists from the NDP is not alone doing an injustice to them— far greater is the disservice done to the NDP."

The fact that one third of the delegates in fact voted for the LSA's right to participate in the NDP, means that opposition to expulsions has grown, and means that the leadership will think twice about embarking on further expulsions.

WORKERS anguard

(110) Mid-July, 1965 Toronto — Price 10 cents

Prairie Teach-in Protests Servility of Ottawa to U.S.

REGINA—Projected as an attempt to arrive at an understanding of the Pearson government's policy on Vietnam, Canada's first community teach-in was nonetheless a protest against its servile support of U.S. aggression.

The teach-in commenced at 3 p.m. Wednesday, July 1 and continued non-stop for 15 hours during which 14 speakers contributed and answered hundreds of questions. Approximately 1,000 persons attended sections. The largest audience at one time was about 500.

The teach-in was unique in that the community outside the university was involved. Among the 14 speakers were former CCF-NDP Saskatchewan Premier W. S. Lloyd, Therese Casgrain of the Voice of Women, Al Gleave, president of the Canadian Farmers Union, Tim Buck of the Communist Party, Alvin Hamilton, minister of agriculture in the last Tory government, Hugh Campbell a former member of the International Control Commission in Vietnam. The decision by the Liberals not to send a speaker at the last moment caused Professor Smythe to read a statement by External Affairs Minister Paul Martin given in March.

Dr. Vo Thann Minh, a Buddhist scholar and former professor at Saigon, Hue and Vinh university in Viet Nam, described the war as "very, very dangerous and in danger of escalating to the point where it would be dangerous for all humanity." He ridiculed the idea that North and South Vietnam were two countries and that China was a threat to their independence. When asked if there was any peace movement in Viet Nam, Dr. Vo said he knew of three persons who wanted to start a movement. When discovered by the Saigon government they were seized and dropped by parachute into North Viet Nam so they would be killed as invaders.

Dorion Report lifts veil from Pearson & his ilk

WORKERS Vanguard

#110 - Jul. 1965

Federal NDP Convention Sees Birth of New Left

By A. Engler

The third federal convention of the New Democratic Party, held in Toronto, July 12-15, made it crystal clear that Canada's Labor Party is firmly rooted in the trade union movement. 800 delegates represented riding associations and trade union locals from every major center in Canada.

T. C. Douglas, acclaimed as the party's leader, brought the convention to a close on an inspired note, challenging the party to gird itself to wrest control of the country from the corporate elite who dominate the Liberal and Conservative parties, and projecting a major breakthrough in the next election. But the convention failed to come to grips with the major problems of the Canadian working people and saw the party continue on its right-ward drift which is rendering it less and less distinguishable from the capitalist parties.

However, those who want the NDP to present a clear programmatic alternative to the big business parties should be inspired by the formation of a country-wide Socialist Caucus which published a printed program, persistently and effectively posed its views in the debates, and presented a slate of candidates for the federal council.

These candidates were committed to the following six point program: 1) Public ownership of Canada's industry, beginning with the basic industries; 2) Support for the colonial peoples' struggle for political and economic independence; 3) Recognition of the NDP's position as Canada's Labor Party; 4) Establishment of genuine democracy in the party, free discussion of differing and conflicting veiws; 5) Recognition of Quebec as a distinct nation and its right to self-determination; 6) A charter on Women's Rights, striving to eliminate the second class citizenship to which they have been subjected.

Unlike previous left caucuses which tended to avoid presenting themselves openly or formally to the convention, but rather loosely gathered themselves around prominent, free wheeling, individuals, the Socialist Caucus requested recognition. Bert Herridge, senior MP of the NDP, identified himself with the Caucus, but in spite of this the Convention Arrangements Committee, and the chairman of the convention, refused to grant the Caucus the right to distribute its literature in the convention area.

The most publicized debate of the convention was around two resolutions condemning U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. The resolution on the Dominican Republic was the most forthright of the two. Its main demand was the

(See Page 2 — SOCIALIST)

Socialist Caucus fights for New Program & Leadership

(Continued From Page 1)

withdrawal of U.S. troops. It also condemned the Government of Canada for supporting U.S. actions there. However, like the resolution on Vietnam, it passed over the principle of self determination by suggesting the use of UN troops in the Dominican Republic.

In the discussion, David Middleton, a veteran of the Korean war, called on the convention not to support the use of UN police forces. He pointed out that the UN, when used as a "police force" in Korea and the Congo, simply carried out U.S. military intervention under another name.

Other Socialist Caucus delegates pointed out that the NDP should clearly side with the Constitutionalist rebel forces of Col. Caamano in Santo Domingo, and should call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Also under international affairs a delegate moved that the NDP declare itself for Canadian withdrawal from such U.S.-dominated military alliances as NATO. The convention voted this down. This undermined the Vietnam and Dominican resolutions because so long as the NDP continues to support NATO, it ties itself to U.S. foreign policy.

The resolutions adopted on domestic economic policy do not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. They do not pose a socialist alternative. T. C. Douglas in fact went so far as to say that the advocates of nationalization of industry are "screwballs."

Only one delegate was permitted to speak on the question of automation. The policy statement is limited to general references to the need for lower prices and greater productivity, the need for retraining workers, and only an incidental reference to a shorter work week.

During debate on the resolution "A Policy for Manpower" delegates attempted to add the demand for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as the most effective answer to growing unemployment. This was defeated. The resolution again ended by calling only for job retraining, and for paying costs of transportation of workers forced to move.

On its policy toward French Canada, the convention took a step backward. Where the founding convention and the Regina convention referred to Canada as a state of "two nations" the present convention adopted the false formulation of "two cultures." However in the debate on natural resources and water resources Quebec delegates said that Quebec must do as she wishes with her natural resources and it is none of the business of the Federal government.

Under the subject of federal-provincial relations, John Steele, chairman of the Socialist Caucus, said, "Quebec as a nation of French Canadian people must have the right to self-determination — inside or outside confederation."

Under the heading of federal-provincial planning a French Canadian delegate moved that Quebec be given the right to negotiate the type of planning arrangements it wants with the federal government. Michael Mill, from Montreal, said "If one is democratic, he must say that Quebec and Quebec only can determine Quebec's relation to confederation." The French speaking delegation from Quebec and the Socialist Caucus voted for the motion, but it was defeated.

The Socialist Caucus got its strongest support during the debate on the drug industry. A supporter of the Caucus moved that the drug industry be nationalized, and said. "It's time we stopped mincing words and nationalized the drug industry. People should not be allowed to make profits on other people's illness." One quarter of the delegates voted for her.

In spite of the programmatic weakness of the convention, socialists who support the NDP as a labor party were again vindicated. A motion to end trade union affiliation was defeated with not one delegate willing to speak in favor of it. Another resolution which would allow only those who hold individual membership in the NDP to stand as delegates to NDP conventions from affiliated trade union locals was defeated after only one delegate spoke in favor of it and only a handful voted for it. Even the chairman of the Constitution Committee pointed out that the NDP had no right to decide what delegates a trade union should or should not send.

None of the positions of the Socialist Caucus were adopted, and none of the Caucus' candidates were elected. The NDP is still saddled with the liberal-reformist program which has both failed to pose real solutions to the fundamental problems confronting Canadian working people and to inspire necessary working class support.

However, the 30 to 40 delegates in the Socialist Caucus made a serious and determined effort to present a socialist alternative from the floor. They were hampered by a leadership which used the chair to prevent debate, and by an attitude which makes a convention a publicity stunt rather than a means for democratically arriving at policy.

The socialists undoubtedly gained the respect of many delegates due to their principled and determined struggle. They have created the basis for a long-range, coordinated campaign by socialists within the NDP throughout the entire party. It is the struggle for a socialist program and socialist leadership for Canada's Labor Party which is the only road to a Workers and Farmers Government and a Socialist Canada.

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NDY Youth Lay Basis for Effective National Movement

By Al Engler

The federal convention of the New Democratic Youth saw the left-wing make the most serious bid for leadership of the movement since its founding. Four of the nine members elected to the executive, Bill Lennihan, Jim Harding, Dave Adams and Marcel Lavonde, were on the Left Caucus slate.

The elections cast a cloud over the last day — it was felt by many that if the former right-wing executive had not manipulated delegates' credentials a majority of executive members, including the president, would have been members of the Left Caucus.

As soon as the resolutions sent to the convention were printed, it was obvious that the left was stronger this year than ever before. The overwhelming majority of resolutions were anti-establishment, and anti-imperialist and socialist.

A month prior to the convention the Left Caucus issued a "Federal Convention Call." It was signed by leading NDYers from Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia.

On its final page it said, "The Federal Left Caucus of the NDY has been formed to present within the NDY, an alternative to the present program and leadership.

"The NDY must demand Canada's immediate withdrawal from all military alliances (NATO, NORAD, etc.) and oppose Canada's entry into the OAS. Canada must withdraw all troops she has stationed in foreign countries, and exclude foreign troops from Canadian soil.

"We must demand that Canada give the fullest economic and moral support to the world's newly free countries. We must give support to movements in still-colonial nations who are struggling for control of their own destinies.

"Recognizing that Canada consists of two nations, we must recognize and support the right of the French-Canadian nation to self-determination, and affirm our belief in the principle of the equality of nations.

"We must demand that the educational system be reorganized so that students and faculty will be fully represented on all governing bodies. We must demand that, since being a student is a full time job, students be paid an adequate living wage.

"The New Democratic Youth must demand that basic and key sectors of the economy be nationalized immediately (e.g. steel, transportation and communication, financial institutions) and that the conditions for the common ownership of the means of production be established. Management of nationalized industries must be placed in the hands of the producers themselves, through their own organizations (the trade unions), with a long range view of developing full workers' control of the economy."

This hard-hitting statement, which was widely circulated in the NDY before the convention, and distributed to delegates before the convention started, clearly set the tone for the convention.

The official policy statements were much more radical than previously. The old leadership of the NDY — former leading exponents of expulsions of socialists, and defenders of the narrow, unimaginative liberal-reformism of the senior party—were forced at this convention to loudly protest that they too are socialists. While program was barely discussed at the two day convention, when issues were raised the socialists were clearly in the saddle.

The constitution was amended to read that membership is open to anyone who does not belong to another political party, whereas previously it had read, "another political party, or organization ancillary thereto." It was this clause that had been previously used by the executive to initiate expulsion procedures against its left opposition.

The only programmatic issues brought up on the floor were Quebec, international affairs, and high schools. Quebec delegates insisted on adopting a policy statement recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination; consequently this was the only programmatic statement which was finally adopted. Neither the high school statements, nor the international statements were adopted. However debate did take place. The division between radical, young socialists and the cautious careerists was obvious, as was the pronounced radicalism of the movement as a whole.

In the election for president, Lennihan, candidate of the Left Caucus, got 41 votes. Terry Morley got 43. A new vote was called by an overwhelming majority. However, the left did not pursue its point, and allowed two questioned delegates to sit, contenting itself with a moral exposure of the right-wing, and Morley was elected. In the vote for B.C. vice-president Bruce Elphinstone, the Left Caucus candidate, got 36 votes and Colin Gabelmann got 38.

While the Left Caucus did not win office, it dominated the convention, and gave the whole outcome a more radical flavor. The newly elected executive is in general much more serious, and much more political than previous executives. It can be anticipated that the NDY will now prove much more able to take advantage of the new wave of radicalism in the youth and make important strides towards becoming a militant mass movement.

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Outstanding Cdns Support Victims of S.A. Apartheid

TORONTO—The new Canadian Alexander Defence Committee, established to aid the victims of Apartheid persecution in South Africa, has announced that a number of distinguished Canadians have added their names to the list of eminent men and women in the United States, Britain and West Germany who are already sponsors of the Alexander Defence Committees in those countries.

Among the Canadian sponsors are Northrop Frye, internationally known literary critic and author; Abraham Feinberg, rabbi emeritus of Holy Blossom Temple, lecturer and vice-president of the Association for Civil Liberties; journalist and TV personality, Pierre Berton; Professor Blumenfeld, an internationally known townplanner; Professor Robin S. Harris, Principal of Innis College, University of Toronto; Austin Clarke, author of the novel, "The Survivors at the Crossing"; Al Purdy, whose recent book of poems, "Cariboo Horses" has been highly praised; and Fred Stinson, Q.C. and ex-M.P., a founder of Canadian University Services Overseas (C.U.S.O.)

The aim of the Defence Committees is to publicise such gross victimization as surrounds the case of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten associates, and thus "to focus public opinion on the inhuman Apartheid policies of South Africa and on the destruction of civil and political liberties." They stress the urgency, also, to provide funds for the political prisoners and their dependents. In Britain, public spirited men such as Bertrand Russell, Frank Allaun, M.P., S. Silverman, M.P. and Prof. E. A. Thomson, immediately pledged their support of the Committee. Among the fifty sponsors of the U.S. Committee are eminent scientists, economists, writers, such as: Linus Pauling, Prof. Reinhold Niebur, John Killens, Carlton Beals, Rev. A. J. Muste, Pete Seeger and James Foreman.

Those interested in further information on the Committee and its work can write to: Miss R. Modlich., Secty., Alexander Defence Committee, Box 824, Station F, Toronto, Ont.

Your corresp

August 9, 1965

our address is 824 Yonge St
or 1 Cumberland
Toronto 5

What have we done to you--what offence have we committed ,what feelings have we violated--how have we failed you---that you should continue now half way across the continent to ~~me~~ us deprive~~t~~ of any word from you.

Of course we are grateful for your having sent us the contact cards of the areas that you have overrun and the sub cards that you have accumulated. I was pleased to read the short note from HS on the back of the copy of the leaflet you sent in with an added short comment--such precious words--from Hans. And it was indeed a solid pleasure to hear via others that ~~g~~t least one of you had found use for the cards sent on to you--so that we heard about the successful showing in Port Arthur.

Now of course you are going to have to break your silence with a few more words because if you dont I am not going to be able to even bother you--you are going to have to give me your schdule across the rest of the country. You only gave ~~kkm~~ me the Ontario schedule--- I dont even know what route you are taking in order to guess the dates--and of course you are going to have to give me an idea of when and where to send the reast of the contact list--the BC names and addresses.

A sub came in from your northern ontario work--I enclose the stub for your information. We might drop in on him on the way back. Incidently you should be thinking of how we are going to handle the names and addresses we would possibly want to see on the way back in here

I also enclose a receipt for the subs and a copy of the statement ju t issued by the left caucus.

There is a meting of Fair Play caucus and I must get to work on the August issue of the paper so I am forced to close

attached please check off and send on---postage quaranteed at Toronto.

Ad to your list of persons which we must make a real effort to see

Lucy and Ralph MacDonell P.O. Box 11 Cascade, B.C.--old timers--marvellous woman--got a warm letter from them after a long silence--I gathor they have both been ill

Ross

VIET CONG FILM IN WINNIPEG

A documentary film produced by the Viet Cong in S outh Viet Nam will be shown on Friday August 13 at 8:00 P.M. in the "Union Centre", Room ~~303~~ 204, at 570 Portage St reet.

The film, made by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, Pictures the Viet Cong both in combat action and re-building towns and villages damaged by air raids.

Sponsering the film are members of the 'Cross Country WORKERS VANGUARD TOUR, now on a one-week stop over in Winnipeg. Published by the LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION, the Workers Vanguard is a militant socialist monthly newspaper wh ich supports the NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY and calls for the adoption of a socialist progran b y that party.

The Viet Cong film is being shown by the group to allow NDPers and trade unionists to s e th e other side of the Vietnamese civil war. It will be introduced by U of T engineering student, Hans Modlich, one of the leaders of last year's STUDENT TOUR TO C BA.

(Vanguard Tour)

special showing of a FILM on

WAR against VIETNAM

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

↖ To small to be screened

produced by the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)
of South Vietnam in guerrilla - held territory

This young muddy-faced guerrilla had been beaten and tortured with water poured into his nose, but still he would not talk." *Life Magazine*, June 12, 1964.

not enough contrast try to get a different photo & send to Regina & Ben Delvoy -

Subscribe Now!

a source of information on the struggles of workers in other lands, an intransigeant opponent of the war drive, a voice for union militants, and a persistant agitator for a socialist Canada.

The Workers Vanguard
1 Cumberland Street
Toronto 5

$1.00 a year (12 issues)

(Vanguard tour)

special showing of a FILM on

WAR against VIETNAM

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

This innocent and bitter man was illegally arrested and compelled to leave his family

produced by the National Liberation Front(Viet Cong) of South Vietnam in guerrilla - held territory

when

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 8:00 P.M.

where

"UNION CENTRE" - ROOM 204

570 PORTAGE AVENUE

Subscribe Now!

a source of information on the struggles of workers in other lands, an intransigeant opponent of the war drive, a voice for union militants, and a persistant agitator for a socialist Canada.

The Workers Vanguard

1 Cumberland Street
Toronto 5

$1.00 a year (12 issues)

August 20, 1965

Comrades;

25 years since the murder of the old man--we are holnding a memorial meeting tonight with myself speaking and ET chairing. So agai just a note--in reply to Hans' letter from Regina re the film.

It is not worht the time going back to the source but I had the distinct understanding that Dick Fidler left you a note in Winnipeg P.O. to the effect that there was nother National Liberation Front film which was better than the one you have shown at a teach-in he attended when in Winnipeg. He and of course I took this up suggested to check upon this when in Winnipeg--to see if you could obtain it.

That is all I know about the whole matter. We have not made any moves at all in the direction of trying to locate this movie because of course we thought that it was in Winnipeg where you were.

We will now do what we can to trace it and see if we can borrow it. Even if we have luck there will be all kinds of problems and at best we would have it for you well after the Edmonton showing. So I am afraid that you will have to continue with the old one burns, cracks and no sound and all.

By now you will have received the magazine on Vietnam which should meet most of your requirements. Pick up a copy of the latest Canadian Dimension too--I would think that it is at that big newsstand in Saskatoon---along with Minority of One. They all carry all kinds of facts now on Vietnam---which is good --but often bogs down the whole idea of resolving the few basic ones into some kind of action in favor of endless hairsplitting over unimportant facts. You know there is a certain daialectical truth in the joke--dont confuse me with facts.

warmest regards

Ross

have no more time--it is two thirty and I perform at 8
sent some books on printing to Edmonton

Workers Vanguard #111 Aug. 1965

Campaigning in Canada With Sub-blank & Movie

If you live north and west of Toronto and you haven't yet met them, they are on their way — into the Prairies now.

The Trailblazers have become an event over the years. They are a group of young socialists who, come summer — equipped with a truckload of literature, mostly bundles of **Workers Vanguard**, and sub blanks — hit the road. This year something new has been added. They are showing a film produced by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam right behind the battle lines.

Because of the communications breakdown due to the government's holdout against the postal workers, they were not able to arrange a showing until they hit Port Arthur. There, over 60 persons turned out, listened to Hans' introductory comments on the dirty war against the popular revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese, his condemnation of U.S. aggression, and his demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn — and then saw the film. Many of the audience purchased literature on the Vietnam war and various aspects of socialism.

A good collection was contributed to help this important project on its way.

The Winnipeg showing in the Canadian Labor Congress center attracted over 40 persons, among them several prominent leaders of the New Democratic Party. The film itself, depicting the harsh conditions which the popular revolutionary struggle in Vietnam labors under, and its revolutionary elan, is not good from a technical point of view. But according to Peter they welcome a chance to explain why it isn't exactly an MGM production — and sales of William F. Warde's pamphlet of the Law of Combined and Uneven Development become very good.

A tremendous amount of door to door work is being done, introducing the **Vanguard** to busy housewives and to workers after work or off shift. This has added scores of new readers to the **Vanguard** lists. Work in depth has also been done with persons who have been in contact with the **Vanguard** on previous visits, and new acquaintances who want to talk over problems in the unions and the NDP.

In Sudbury there was a good opportunity to meet leading union militants. Here, according to Peter, "there is a real crisis in leadership. While the United Steel workers has a proven ability at the bargaining table with the INCO bosses who respect its massive power, it is still widely distrusted by a great many former activists in Mine Mill. The result is that Steel, which continues its redbaiting, has no proven secondary leadership, no experienced stewards, PAC men, etc. Militants, remarkably enough, are not so much disillusioned as they just don't know what to do — which way to turn. One leading militant is anxious to set up a Vietnam film meeting for us on our return trip through."

WORKERS Vanguard #111-Aug/1965

The Toronto LSA Conducts Varied Edctl. Program

The summer months, with hot weather and vacations, cut drastically into activities of the unions and NDP clubs. But they have seen a step-up in the educational efforts of the Toronto League for Socialist Action.

Every other Sunday afternoon the LSA has been holding public meetings in Allen Gardens from 1:30 to 3:30. Many new speakers have been taking the stand and answering questions from interested audiences that fluctuate between 100 and 150 persons. Many anticipate the meetings and attend on a regular basis.

Friday night Vanguard Forums at 1 Cumberland have continued on without any noticeable slakening of attendance, contributions from the floor, or collections.

Many topical subjects have been dealt with, such as an evaluation of the NDP federal convention and the meaning of the coup in Algeria, but generally they have taken on a more theoretical character. For instance August 27 will see the 5th of a series on the evolution of society from prehistory to the age of the Socialist revolution.

Every Tuesday night another series is being held. On August 31 the fifth class will be held in a series on the logic of Marxism —dealing with the development of thought from Aristotle, to Hegel, to Marx.

A Workers' World — or None!

(Sept 24/65)

Dear Art

Enclosed my carbon copy of the letter I recently sent you

Good to see you can read. Dan making up a parcel right away. Will enclose the note + send it first class

Received the money alright + am allocating the 15 00 to our International Fund Drive now underway.

Wondering if the Trailblazers held a show in Kamloops yesterday or the day before. They are due in Vancouver tonight so they may have felt it necessary to go via the South Route. [redacted]

Why dont you drop a line to — Ernest Tate c/o Vanguard Bookstore 1208 GRANVILLE Vancouver — right away so that if they head up your way they could step in and see you at your motel. On the way both they will be hitting the campus and again because of the Interest of the Year they may want to get into Calgary right away Will try to drop you a line in a week or so when the paper is out of the way

Fraternally Don

September 28, 1965

Bill Laskov

Dear Bill;

I hear that you are in such a condition that you cannot carry on--after I gather going right across the country in poor shape. well it is a very good idea to kick out for a while--and you are in a good place to do it in¾

The trailblazer tour entry has been so triumphant that I would imagine many of the Vancouver comrades are more than anxious to more than give you the usual comradely reception. The climate is mild and the location interesting and you should have no trouble in recuperating . If after several days you feel no better borrow the money and come back by the train---the fare is reasonable and the trip is fairly comfortable.

At anyrate do not let money stand in the way of your return to good health. I figure that you are going to be around with us for a while and since we are anticipating big things---we have already a considerable investment in you and want you to be in on the pay off.

I do not think that you should be overly anxious to rejoin the tour. Of course they need you--but they can get along without you. That tour is really a tough project at any time and if you are not in really good health physically and from the point of view of moral it is extremely trying. And believe me the trip back is going to be tougher than the one out --- if only from the weather factor. It is hard on anyone even if they are in good health and well dressed to live day after day and night under some what cool and often cold conditions.

I would suggest that you do not rejoin the tour unless in a week or so you feel in top condition---rather you should come back here. The heat's on at my apartment there is adequate space and the out patients pavilion is just up the street. Possibly you carried your Blue Cross off your job. In that case you know you can go right into hospital since they can in no way demand that a single person place himslef on his folks.

Things are moving along fairly favorably for effective action on October 15 and 16 here. There will be a bit of a trial run when Dief comes into the Varsity Arena this Friday night to kickoff his campaign.

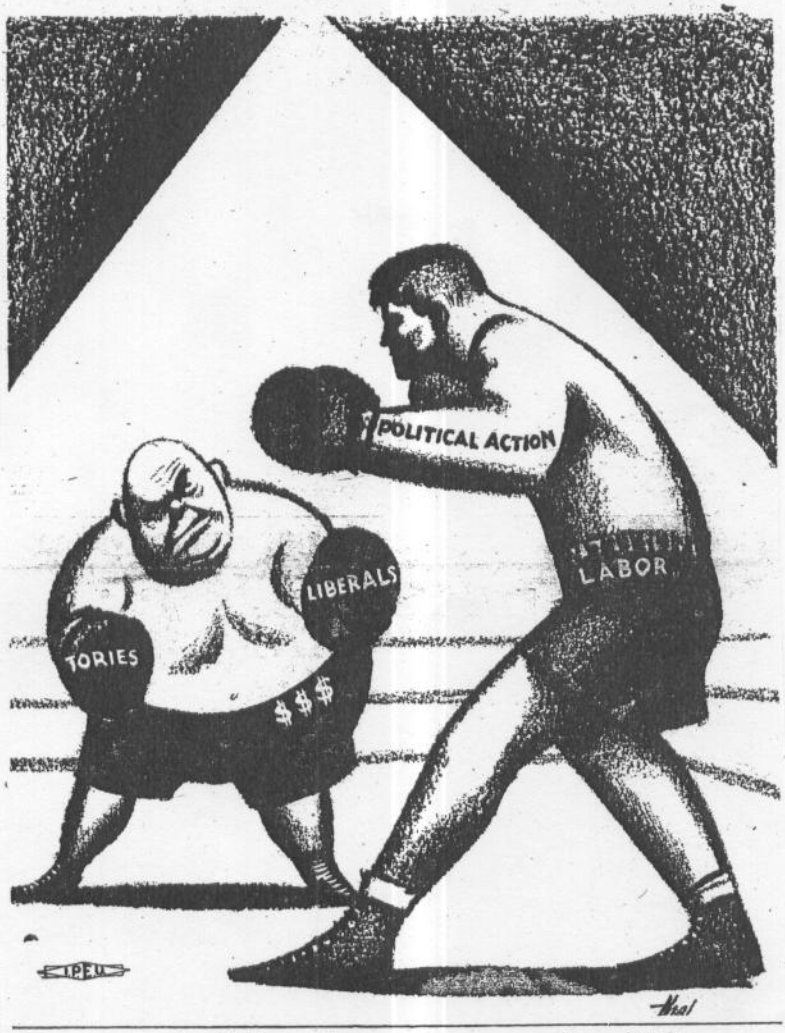
warmest regards

Ross

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 10 No. 4 (112) Mid-September, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

NDP Against Boss Parties



Postal Workers on the Move With Union & New Leadership

By M. Green

The first convention after their

ployees Association in Toronto, September 22-24. They represented 11,000 members, over half of

WORKERS Vanguard

#112 - Sept. 1965

Cross Canada Balance Sheet as Trailblazers Reach Coast

By E. Tate

At this point we have been on the road for more than three months. We have held nine meetings since we left Toronto, featuring the film produced by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front on their freedom struggle. These are the highlights of the tour.

We are finding that young people are coming out and even when in many cases they show they disagree with us, they are the majority of the audience and give us the best responses. In Saskatoon, where 80% of the audience were students, we had full support for our straight forward demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam. The discussion was animated and dozens of students told us that they would be interested in setting up an Against the War in Vietnam Committee.

Many of the youth reject red baiting just as quickly as they dismiss the Communist Party. They are highly suspicious of the NDP leadership and will discuss with anyone on a fraternal basis. They are quite susceptible to socialist ideas.

The bulk of those who made up the 45 persons who attended our meeting in Lloydminster were NDP members. They were particularly concerned about how the party press played down Douglas' speech in the house on Vietnam.

When in Edmonton we made a point of distributing the Vanguard to the immense Great Western Garment plant which employs over 1,000 women, most of them recent immigrants. One of the leaders of the ILGW local came over to find out about the paper and when told it was a socialist paper that supports the NDP she expressed pleasure. She told us that there has been a large turnover since the plant was organized and said she hoped the paper would help raise union consciousness.

Over 85 turned up at our Edmonton meeting. The bulk of the audience were from the campus and we were asked many times to be sure to return this way so that meetings could be organized for us when school was underway.

The reception for our meeting at the Calgary library auditorium was quite different. We subsequently learned that Calgary is known as "the Texas of Canada." We came under some heavy redbaiting but nonetheless sold a considerable number of subscriptions.

In the Kootenays we met former CCFers who are bitter about the NDP. Since the Vanguard supported the move to bring the trade unions into the new party on a big scale some of them accuse it of being in part responsible for the dissolution of the old CCF. We also heard complaints against both the BC and federal leaderships of the party by some activists who say that they receive little help, financial and otherwise, because provincial house member Leo Nimsick and federal member Herridge refuse to conform to the leadership's image of respectability.

Unlike other years we did very well in our door to door work with the paper in Trail. In this area the bulk of the workers are very union conscious. Few have illusions that this system operates in their favor because it is clear to all they will spend their entire life "on the hill", as the smelter is known, to the benefit of the company. When we were there a worker was killed in the plant — he was crushed by some falling equipment. We heard many bitter expressions. He was young, with three small children — one of which was only a few weeks old. The worker's death dominated everyone's conversation. Another life sacrificed.

In some ways our meeting in Trail was like the one in Calgary only this time the editor of the Trail Times himself came out to heckle us.

We have just addressed the regular Friday night forum of the Vancouver League for Socialist Action. We are now getting ready to head back East — concentrating on the campuses. We hope that we can help to make October 15-16, International Days of Protest against the War in Vietnam,

Subscribe Now to
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1 CUMBERLAND STREET TORONTO 5, ONTARIO
$1.00 for **12** issues, **$2.00** buys your sub and one for a friend
Name .....
Address .....

824 Yonge Street
Toronto
October 6, 1965

Trailblazers

Dear Comrades;

Bloody cold down here these days--- which is not matter to us--but hope it is not too cold out there. Glad you received all the winter materials

We have received subscriptions from Merrit and Kamloops--

This is just a note that I want you to receive while you are in Calgary. to let you know what we have done with a couple of itmes.

First we just didn't manage to get the paper off last Friday and never got the real run of ten thousand off until yesterday. You will have received there in Calgary an airmail bundle that will carry you for a little. I was going to send the large bundle for the rest of the trip here on in to Calgary but looking over the calandar I thought best not to.

About 2,000 copies have been sent to Edmonton via the mail--the hell with that express crap. I figure that it takes four and sometimes five days to get material to Calgary Edmonton. If we had sent the 2,000 to Calgary they would have arri ved possibly Saturday but maybe not until Monday. Well you plan according to Schedule to leave Calgary Sunday or Monday so there would probably be some trouble there.

Havle also sent you 25 copies of the Young Socialist (U.S.A.) and 25 copies of the ISR to Edmonton.

Think it is a good issue for you. Although there is almost nothing on the trade union movement--the postal workers you meet will find it valuable---and every unionist I think will get a bang out of the Houle interview. Pushed all that international stuff into this issue so the next two sheet issues can be really devoted to election material--including the BLP conference which fits in well to show our orientation to the NDP

warm warm warm regards

Ross

havent heard from Bill L

Will write to you in Edmonton

Dear Bill;

By about now you will be thinking how nice it will be to hit the Rockies, to put your feet into one of those mountain streams. You got the note about the fellow who sent a sub ir after you had seen him and left a blank. Enclosed is a note from a guy up ahead of you. In this case it is a matter of your good deeds proceeding in advance of you. Dick is now in town. Has a long talk about the failure of La Lutte Ouvriere's failure to appear. This will be rectified . Now involved in a discussion about parti pris--they are sugg esting that in effect we make an entry. But there are many problems--the fact that their organ is out of the control of the movement, intellectualist in its approach, that while real efforts are being made to sink roots in the working calss this is really not at all certain of achievement and that other fact that while they are all French our entire cadre at this time is English. We are recruiting--two more--but English again.

fraternally Ross

Dear Peter

It was good to receive your very fine report the other day. We will be reading it to the branch tonight--in about 45 minutes. I have used a considerable part of it as the basis of the arti cle in the coming issue of the paper. The enclosed is to make up for the parcel in the missing four bundles that were overrun in Timmins. They should refresh everyone for the rest of the Prairie run until you get to the Rockies and the coast.

fraternally Ross

Dear [illegible],

Surpised that we havent heard a word from you. What are they doing to you--driving you into the ground? I figure that you are having lots of experiences such as you never had before.Stu and Joe Young have just returned from a very successful jaunt through South Western Ontario. Unfortunately they had to carry everything on their backs. including a pup tent. Looks like they got an NDY club underway in Welland. Received a letter from Heidi Fischer in Lloydminster. You will find their address in the Llyodminter list. Right her immediately as to when you expect to arrive there. She is somewhat younger than her brother who is going to University this fall. Inspired by the tour and is really looking forward to your arrival. You can save on the meals a cou le of days in advance knwoing that they and the Llyodminster comrades will be killing the fatted calf.

fraternally Ross

Found in 1965

(Found in 1965-October)

Saturday

Roving tour

Just a note...just in case you manage to pick it up in Kapuskasing.

A little distirubing to receive a letter from Timmins dated July 29 and for it to contain only barebones minutes of a meeting a week previously ---which mention that you did not have the film at that time. Agaz The letter also fails to make any mention as to whether you picked up the parcels of papers we expressed to Timmins. And of course you made no phone call as I suggested in the letter enclosed with thebpapers. So we fear that you have not thought to stop in at the CN express office.

If you pick this note up at Kapuskasing I think you should seriously consider the idea of one person going back with the truck for the papers etc.

warmest regards

Ross

Dear Hans;

From where I sees it ,it doesn't look to me as if anyone has fallen. Did you see Peter's most excellent report. I have tkane portions of it for the coming issue of the paper. No, No. dont ~~xxxx~~ leanr that from your experience---"I'm learning to accept comrades the way they are." You have to look at everything dialectically--even humans. Everyone is sibject to change and development. But of course everyone has limitations--- There is a little matter of judgement, of trying to assess the present capacities of persons and project their possibilities. ~~Thexxxxxxxxxx~~ Leadership is not a matter of giving everyone their head, of just pushing and shoving everyone indisriminately but of making an assessment on the basis of information at hand, of giving people tasks that they can handle in general but which challenge their development--and of course also watching them aiding them ,helping them to come along--so that you suddenly do not have a crisis where persons sometimes lose confidence in themsleves and have difficulty rising to the next challenges.
Glad to see Harry is responding--and how is Alex

fraternally Ross

Oct. 1965

Dear Lyle;

Welcome back onto the tour. Hope they have filled you in on the scene--the Winnipeg showing, how everything panned out in Regina and Moose Jaw. And that you have done likewise with your experiences. Heard about your words of advise to the tour re the Indian project and the interest and commitment to it of the Prairie left. Well let me tell you--I hope none of you show very much interest in the Doukabhor project. I am a little worried as it is now and as to how they will influence Roebuck and others in their future passive resistance activity, for as you know the Doukhabor's have lone embellished passive resistance with nudity.

Engler

Alan has written that no one can join the tour on your way into Vancouver. But with Hans leaving early and possibly Alex it seems to me that we should really push to have someone come back with us. The truck is completely weatherized and of course we have big campus opportunities not to speak of film showing opportunities in the Soo and Sudbury.

Suppose you know Karen is back--she is staying with Pat M at the youth house. I have an idea that one of her letters to you is wrapped up in the parcel that you over-run in Timmins.

fraternally

Ross

THE ELECTION ISSUES

anadian Complicity in the War in Vietnam

The popular thing" would be rge the U.S. to pull out of ıam, said Progressive Conrative leader John Diefenbaker in election meeting on October Two days later, in the face persistent pressure to speak on Vietnam, a pivotal question Canadian foreign policy, and tainly an issue in a federal elec-. Mr. Pearson made what he erved was his first comment this area. He denounced those o advocate U.S. withdrawal. It easy this way, he said, to ouse fear of a great power.

The entire world fears Washton's genocidal war against the Vietnamese freedom struggle, ith its threat of escalation ainst China into a nuclear holoust. Why do Mr. Pearson and r. Diefenbaker advocate approval, and even implicate Canda in such criminal actions, violating what is admittedly the opular feeling in the country?

It is as defenders of Canadian apitalist interests that the governments of both parties have ade Canada the chief apologist nd defender of U.S. imperialist nterests anywhere and everyhere they are being threatened y the freedom struggles of the opular masses.

While the leading spokesmen of the NDP have failed to boldly and effectively take up the challenge of Vietnam in this election—the record is clear. The only way the Canadian electorate have of protesting Washington's murderous war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity is to vote NDP.

Quebec

There is a new determination being demonstrated by the working people of Quebec to throw off the bondage that was imposed on them at Confederation and to end the inequalities that they are suffering both as a class and a nation within Canada.

If the most determined fighters for French Canadian rights can, with some justice, claim that the NDP demonstrates federalist tendencies—the Liberal and Tory parties, in power ever since confederation, colonialists both abroad and at home, are the federalist parties par excellence.

The NDP has gone farther than any other major party in identifying itself with the struggles of the French Canadian people. As a labor party it has earned the hatred of the trusts and the monopolists, and it is through a firm alliance with the English speaking working class in the rest of Canada, largely committed to the NDP, that the French Canadian working class can present the most powerful front against Ottawa.

Automation

The rise in military expenditures due to the blood-letting in Vietnam, which it is being openly admitted gave a new lease on life to the slackening U.S. and Canadian economy, has permitted the Liberals and Tories to shove aside the issue of automation. This technological revolution has resulted in the elimination of 800,000 jobs in the last 15 years. The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council report says that assuming the present economic expansion continues, along with the mass exodus of the youth from the Maritimes, 126,700 new jobs will be needed there by 1970.

Only the NDP is showing any awareness of the problem. T. C. Douglas talks in terms of a plan to prevent displacement and misery, for retraining, re-location, etc. The Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business are opposed to any plan designed to assure that this technological revolution will result in new freedom from the drudgery of work—for them everything must serve the interests of profit.

Public ownership of the key sectors of the economy and production for human use is no longer merely desirable—it has became a matter of necessity. Once again this whole question is coming up in the NDP—around the Bell Telephone colossus, the CPR, threatening to cut off branch lines, the pulp and paper interests, looting our natural resources. The election of the NDP to office would be a victory for the forces fighting to build a socialist Canada.

NDP TO POWER

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 8B (113) Mid-October, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

Break the Totalitarian Grip of 985 Who Own Canada

The Canadian people do not own, and therefore do not control Canada. We should! And this election should mark a big stride towards ending this monstrous denial of control over the most basic aspects of our lives.

Canada is now owned by 985 men, no women. They are extremely wealthy. But more important than their accumulated wealth is their control of the wealth-producing mechanisms. They hold 81% of the directorships in the dominant corporations, as well as 58% of the directorships in the 9 chartered banks, and 78% of those in the life insurance companies. Contrary to popular misconceptions there are only two Jewish bank directors. Only 6.7% of this economic elite are French-Canadian. The overwhelming majority are Canadian-born of British descent.

They got to where they are through no merit of their own. When you add to those who were born directly into their positions, those who went to private schools—over two-thirds of them started right at the top. Less than 8% arrived at their positions by being in business on their own account.

This small group of men make all the decisions related to the economic operations of the country which determine the basic conditions under which they and we other 19 million Canadians live. The motivation of their decisions is not the public good, but profit.

Liberals or Tories — Same Difference

Of the 985 whose political views could be determined (of course they were all anti-NDP,) they were split fifty-fifty between the Liberals and Tories. Much is made of their financial contributions to the Liberal and Tory political machines but you can be sure they do not leave an important question such as how the country is to be ruled, to such chance.

They are indifferent as to which one of their two parties, the Liberals or the Progressive Conservatives, are in office. They control the economy and they determine the political decisions of governments — not through M.P.'s but through the cabinet, and their men who they see to it are inducted into the cabinet.

Forty percent of the 88 cabinet ministers between 1940-1960 had no previous experience in the political machinery of their party and entered cabinet during their first term of office. Nine of them had never even been in the house but stepped out of the board room right into the cabinet. One of them never faced the electorate—Walter McCutcheon of the powerful Argus Corporation, who Diefenbaker brought in from the Senate.

From Board Room To Cabinet

One of those coopted, subsequently became Prime Minister —St. Laurent. At the time that Prime Minister King invited him to step into his cabinet from the board room of the mighty Metropolitan Life Insurance Company he had not even met him.

When the Liberal Prime Minister was settling the details for bringing Major-General La Fleche into his cabinet he did not even know his political affiliations. When LaFleche asked him if he would like to know, King records in his diary: "I said I would be interested if he cared to tell me."

Beneath a democratic facade spreads out a vast, highly organized system designed to preserve the stranglehold that 985 men have on the Canadian economy and Canadian life.

The working people cannot even begin to establish a genuinely democratic society until they organize their vast numbers into a political movement of their own to take the power. The key task will be to establish industrial democracy through public ownership of the key sectors of the economy. The election of an NDP government to power would be a giant stride in that direction.

Why you Should Vote, Elect the NDP

A Challenge & Response with Voters

Yes, many of the things that you stand for are good, but I'm not voting for you. You won't get elected and I'm not going to waste my vote.

* * *

Even if it could be accurately estimated that a certain NDP candidate is doomed to defeat, all votes not cast NDP are wasted votes. A Tory or Liberal vote, despite all the promises made to win it, is essentially a vote for the status quo—for things to continue on as they have been. But few persons are really satisfied with the circumstances of their own life, the conditions of their friends and neighbors, the situation in this country or abroad.

Often it is a matter of not grasping the possibilities for social betterment, thanks to the development of science and technology and the growing organization of the working class. Many who see the evils of job insecurity, poverty, war and the possibility of nuclear destruction, attribute them to some inherent weaknesses in man. In their feeling of helplessness they toss back and forth between Liberal and Tory. But all the main evils of our time have their source in the capitalist system which man is capable of replacing. A vote for the NDP is an expression that we can and will change society to suit our needs.

Even NDP votes that fail to elect NDP members into office are important and seriously noted by those in office. Should a Liberal or Tory government think of committing Canadian troops to Vietnam, for instance, it would naturally consider the number of votes that were cast for a party that identified itself with opposition to such a policy, and what the possible repercussions might be.

The NDP is a movement based on constituency organizations and political action committees in the shops. The support that it rallies in elections is capable of being effectively mobilized between elections.

I think that you have some good points but you're not going to get elected so I'm (1), supporting the Liberals to keep the Tories out, or, supporting the Tories to keep the Liberals out, or (2), supporting a policy to keep both the old line parties from getting an overall majority.

* * *

But there is no real difference between the Liberals or the Tories. We in Canada are not faced with the dubious task of attempting to assess which is the lesser of two evils. We have a choice of a qualitatively different character, a real alternative in the NDP.

The argument that a Liberal or Tory government in a minority position would be prepared to make far-reaching concessions in order to hold on in office might have some weight if it could be proved that there were far-reaching differences between them. The fact is that the Liberals were able to conduct a minority government for 2½ years without making any notable concessions. And there is no reason to think that in so far as the Tories were concerned they couldn't have continued to carry on indefinitely.

The boss parties have solved the most paralyzing of all minority positions — when each one was a minority — by the simple method of getting together in coalition. They did this for many years in B.C. to keep the CCF out of office, until a new formula for capitalist party rule could be worked out—under the guise of R. B. Bennett's Social Credit.

These arguments, and many others like them, are really so much double-talk devised to block the Canadian people from drawing the obvious conclusions from 53 years of Liberal, alternated with 41 years of Tory, rule, to prevent the necessary break, now well underway, from boss politics —onto the plane of independent labor political action—towards a workers and farmers government.

As the great American socialist Eugene V. Debs put it: "It is better to vote for what you want, and not get it—than to vote for what you don't want, and get it."

I'm not going to vote NDP. I'm not going to vote for anyone or any party. It's all a racket. Politics is the bunk; or, The NDP is no different, is not fundamentally different from the other political parties, and isn't worth voting for, even as a protest.

* * *

No one can escape politics. Even by personally opting-out you don't escape. Commitments are made, legislation passed, and enforced. And everyone is subjected to them whether he takes conscious forms of political action such as voting, or does not.

The boss political machines don't mind one bit if you abstain. In fact abstentionism, when the majority are still entrapped in Liberal-Tory politics, is a most positive action—it is acquiescence to the activities of those who are sustaining the status quo and what it threatens for the future.

The fact that ideologically the NDP represents a shift to the right from the old CCF, and that its program is neither socialist nor projects a socialist future, but is liberal-reformist, is fairly widely grasped. Those unaware of this have been made familiar by such columnists as Peter C. Newman who notes that the NDP, this election, is saying little, even when it has something to say, that differentiates it from the Liberal party—or the Tory party. The Workers Vanguard and the League for Social Action, have also noted this—but in order to fight it, and to win the NDP to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

The NDP marks an advance over the CCF in that through it the organized labor movement is more firmly committed to independent political action. No one who understands the need for the NDP to adopt a more militant program, and certainly no one who understands the need for Canada to go socialist, can stand aside. Not only must he work and vote NDP in order to strengthen it. But he must join it—for the NDP is the major arena of the struggle against liberal-reformism in the labor movement.

THE ELECTION ISSUES

Canadian Complicity in the War in Vietnam

"The popular thing" would be to urge the U.S. to pull out of Vietnam, said Progressive Conservative leader John Diefenbaker to an election meeting on October 25. Two days later, in the face of persistent pressure to speak out on Vietnam, a pivotal question in Canadian foreign policy, and certainly an issue in a federal election. Mr. Pearson made what he observed was his first comment in this area. He denounced those who advocate U.S. withdrawal. It is easy this way, he said, to arouse fear of a great power.

The entire world fears Washington's genocidal war against the Vietnamese freedom struggle, with its threat of escalation against China into a nuclear holocaust. Why do Mr. Pearson and Mr. Liefenbaker advocate approval, and even implicate Canada in such criminal actions, violating what is admittedly the popular feeling in the country?

It is as defenders of Canadian capitalist interests that the governments of both parties have made Canada the chief apologist and defender of U.S. imperialist interests anywhere and everywhere they are being threatened by the freedom struggles of the popular masses.

While the leading spokesmen of the NDP have failed to boldly and effectively take up the challenge of Vietnam in this election—the record is clear. The only way the Canadian electorate have of protesting Washington's murderous war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity is to vote NDP.

Quebec

There is a new determination being demonstrated by the working people of Quebec to throw off the bondage that was imposed on them at Confederation and to end the inequalities that they are suffering both as a class and a nation within Canada.

If the most determined fighters for French Canadian rights can, with some justice, claim that the NDP demonstrates federalist tendencies—the Liberal and Tory parties, in power ever since confederation, colonialists both abroad and at home, are the federalist parties par excellence.

The NDP has gone farther than any other major party in identifying itself with the struggles of the French Canadian people. As a labor party it has earned the hatred of the trusts and the monopolists, and it is through a firm alliance with the English speaking working class in the rest of Canada, largely committed to the NDP, that the French Canadian working class can present the most powerful front against Ottawa.

Automation

The rise in military expenditures due to the blood-letting in Vietnam, which it is being openly admitted gave a new lease on life to the slackening U.S. and Canadian economy, has permitted the Liberals and Tories to shove aside the issue of automation. This technological revolution has resulted in the elimination of 800,000 jobs in the last 15 years. The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council report says that assuming the present economic expansion continues, along with the mass exodus of the youth from the Maritimes, 126,700 new jobs will be needed there by 1970.

Only the NDP is showing any awareness of the problem. T. C. Douglas talks in terms of a plan to prevent displacement and misery, for retraining, re-location, etc. The Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business are opposed to any plan designed to assure that this technological revolution will result in new freedom from the drudgery of work—for them everything must serve the interests of profit.

Public ownership of the key sectors of the economy and production for human use is no longer merely desirable—it has became a matter of necessity. Once again this whole question is coming up in the NDP—around the Bell Telephone colossus, the CPR, threatening to cut off branch lines, the pulp and paper interests, looting our natural resources. The election of the NDP to office would be a victory for the forces fighting to build a socialist Canada.

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 5B (113) Mid-October, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 5B (113) Mid-October, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

Break the Totalitarian Grip of 985 Who Own Canada

The Canadian people do not own, and therefore do not control Canada. We should! And this election should mark a big stride towards ending this monstrous denial of control over the most basic aspects of our lives.

Canada is now owned by 985 men, no women. They are extremely wealthy. But more important than their accumulated wealth is their control of the wealth-producing mechanisms. They hold 81% of the directorships in the dominant corporations, as well as 58% of the directorships in the 9 chartered banks, and 78% of those in the life insurance companies. Contrary to popular misconceptions there are only two Jewish bank directors. Only 6.7% of this economic elite are French-Canadian. The overwhelming majority are Canadian-born of British descent.

They got to where they are through no merit of their own. When you add to those who were born directly into their positions, those who went to private schools—over two-thirds of them started right at the top. Less than 8% arrived at their positions by being in business on their own account.

This small group of men make all the decisions related to the economic operations of the country which determine the basic conditions under which they and we other 19 million Canadians live. The motivation of their decisions is not the public good, but profit.

Liberals or Tories — Same Difference

Of the 985 whose political views could be determined (of course they were all anti-NDP,) they were split fifty-fifty between the Liberals and Tories. Much is made of their financial contributions to the Liberal and Tory political machines but you can be sure they do not leave an important question such as how the country is to be ruled, to such chance.

They are indifferent as to which one of their two parties, the Liberals or the Progressive Conservatives, are in office. They control the economy and they determine the political decisions of governments — not through M.P.'s but through the cabinet, and their men who they see to it are inducted into the cabinet.

Forty percent of the 88 cabinet ministers between 1940-1960 had no previous experience in the political machinery of their party and entered cabinet during their first term of office. Nine of them had never even been in the house but stepped out of the board room right into the cabinet. One of them never faced the electorate—Walter McCutcheon of the powerful Argus Corporation, who Diefenbaker brought in from the Senate.

From Board Room To Cabinet

One of those coopted, subsequently became Prime Minister —St. Laurent. At the time that Prime Minister King invited him to step into his cabinet from the board room of the mighty Metropolitan Life Insurance Company he had not even met him.

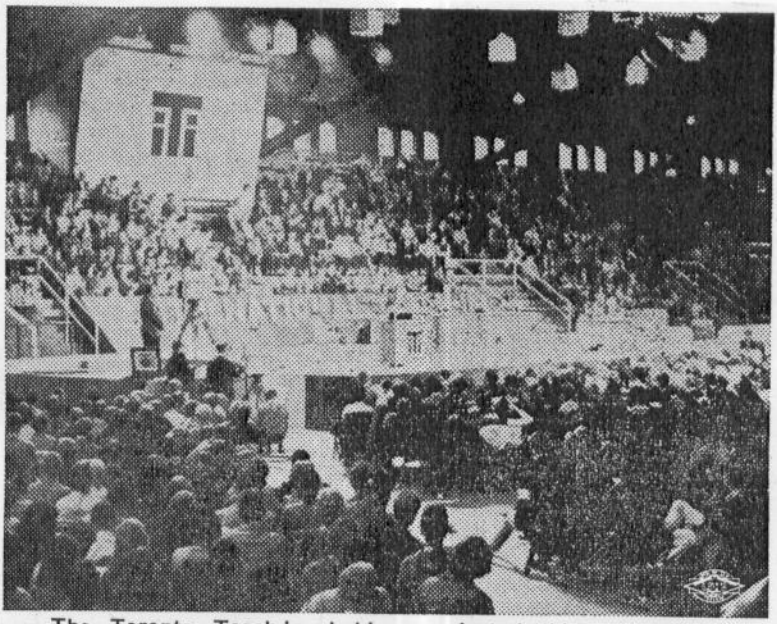
When the Liberal Prime Minister was settling the details for bringing Major-General La Fleche into his cabinet he did not even know his political affiliations. When LaFleche asked him if he would like to know, King records in his diary: "I said I would be interested if he cared to tell me."

Beneath a democratic facade spreads out a vast, highly organized system designed to preserve the stranglehold that 985 men have on the Canadian economy and Canadian life.

The working people cannot even begin to establish a genuinely democratic society until they organize their vast numbers into a political movement of their own to take the power. The key task will be to establish industrial democracy through public ownership of the key sectors of the economy. The election of an NDP government to power would be a giant stride in that direction.

B.C. Labor Laying it on the Table

WORKERS Vanguard #113B - Oct 1965



The Toronto Teach-in, held over last holiday weekend, was attended by 6,000 people. An estimated one million listened in via radio and TV hookup. In contrast to U.S. teach-ins which have been of a protest-against-the-war character, its U of T staff sponsors sought to keep it strictly academic. But testifying to the mounting concern over the U.S. war in Vietnam, and Canadian complicity, it ended, after three days of discussions by international figures, with a high content of protest.

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this special single sheet issue of the VANGUARD.

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 #113B

Que. NDP Wages Vigorous Campaign Newspaper Editors Predict Big Gains

By R. Brock

Montreal, Oct. 29—With candidates in all but three of the province's 75 ridings, the NDP is waging a vigorous campaign in Québec this election. For the first time ever, there is serious talk of electing a few MP's; a recent poll among weekly newspaper editors indicated possible NDP gains as high as 25 seats. The NDP has even drawn candidates from known former members of the Liberal. Conservative, and Union Nationale parties.

The Québec Federation of Labor has more than once unequivocally declared its support for the NDP. And despite the Confederation of National Trade Unions' official "neutrality," some CNTU unions in Lac St. Jean recently invited president Louis Laberge, of the rival QFL, to address them on behalf of the NDP.

Certainly the situation is ripe for the NDP. The Diefenbaker Tories are rejected; Réal Caouette's Ralliement des Créditistes, whose hustings demagogy quickly faded to demands for bilingual cheques once in Ottawa, is seriously discredited; and the Liberals, for all their attempts to present a new veneer, are all-too-obviously the same old corrupt machine. In fact, the contest is really between the Liberals and the NDP. Or more accurately, between the NDP and apathy, for the real danger is that the voters' rejection of the boss parties will translate into massive abstentions at the polls.

Make no mistake, the NDP has problems too in Québec. Although no loss to the party—they never belonged to it—the "sudden" adherence of the "3 new aristocrats," Marchand, Pelletier, and Trudeau, to the federal Liberals (to "save national unity," they said) underlined the increasing political polarisation of French Canada, and the NDP's grievous failure so far to respond to it. For years now, the NDP leadership has oriented to acquiring support from precisely these petty-bourgeois elements thru a consistent toning down of party program to a scarcely indistinguishable copy of the Liberal party. Now the chickens came home to roost. In this, the M-P-T decision—a wholly natural one for them—bears lessons for the party as a whole.

It also bears on some election issues. For example, the NDP's much-touted claim to be the best "defense of Canada" doesn't go down well with French-Canadians, who hardly empathize with Confederation. Cassandra-like cries for "national unity" tend to win support only to the capitalist parties. After all, Confederation was their baby, wasn't it?

But Québec NDP leader Cliche has reacted in the right direction to the "betrayal of the élites." Altho, like Douglas, he still inveighs against the "class struggle," he has called in the course of the campaign for a "trade union party" ("parti syndicaliste") to include workers, farmers, and the newly-organized professional strata. He has publicly appealed over the CNTU bureaucrats' heads for the support of its membership to the NDP and "against our common adversary, free enterprise capitalism." To the farmers, he has stressed the similarity of the Québec NDP's farm program with that of the militant mass-membership Catholic farmers' Union which recently blocked highways thruout Québec to back up their demands for lower taxes and higher incomes. Before student audiences, he has called for a drastic cut in defense expenditures to pay for education.

By presenting a real alternative thru a militant campaign along these lines, the NDP can seriously hope to interest the Québec voter in federal politics. Whether Cliche and the NDP's call will be heard in Québec this election it is clear that the NDP stands a good chance to better the more than 160,000 votes it rang up here in 1963.

WORKERS Vanguard #113B - Oct. 1965

Nationalize Bell Telephone Says B.C. Leader Strachan

By A. Engler

Vancouver—While the official NDP literature in B.C. sticks to talking in vague terms about the need for a "new leadership," or getting "parliament rolling again," party spokesmen have nevertheless identified the party with the trade union movement, spoken out against the U.S. war in Vietnam, and have even demanded public ownership of monopolies.

At a rally for NDP candidate Colin Cameron in Ladysmith, provincial leader Robert Strachan said, "I would expect that a New Democratic Party government would take over both the B.C. Telephone Co. and the Bell Telephone Company."

He added, "During provincial elections in this province when public ownership of our telephone system is discussed we are told that a federal franchise prevents the provincial governments from such a takeover."

So it should be a federal issue, and an issue in this election, he said. Strachan stated that public ownership of B.C. Telephone and Bell in Ontario and Quebec would make possible an immediate 25 per cent reduction in telephone rates.

Another significant demand for nationalization was made by NDP provincial MLA's, Alex MacDonald and Arthur Turner. In a telegram to the BC Government, they said, "The near monopoly in the brewing industry has produced an irresponsibility which cannot be tolerated in a democratic society. We urge the government to proceed to place the industry under public ownership." This telegram was issued in the sixth week of the now-settled brewery strike, at a time when the company was cavalierly refusing even to discuss with the striking union.

On international affairs T. C. Douglas told an audience in Burnaby, "We would be making a great mistake if we joined the OAS as it is now set up—with the U.S. pulling the strings."

At the same meeting he also said, "Nobody can convince me that we can spend $1.5 to $2 billion on defense—much of it on obsolete military hardware—but that we can't find $85 million to train our young people for the scientific revolution."

However, NDP audiences have been most concerned about Vietnam. Despite the fact that NDP speakers have avoided the issue in most of their speeches, questioners invariably ask the party to state its position.

During a session at the U.B.C. Teach-in, NDP candidate Bob Prittie was a guest panelist. He received loud cheers from the audience when he answered that an NDP government would demand that the U.S. withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

T. C. Douglas, speaking the following week, also at the University, replied to a question by saying that the U.S. was in Vietnam to defend the investments of U.S. big business in South East Asia. He again stated that the NDP was opposed to the U.S. military intervention.

In general the NDP campaign in B.C. has picked up in the past few weeks. Vietnam has been made an issue, and with the big brewery and oil workers' strike the NDP leadership has been forced to set aside its non-class "friends of everyone" approach, and voice demands of working people.

What is still needed though is the mobilization of the thousands of trade union militants in BC behind the campaign. A step in this direction was taken by the Burnaby-Richmond riding association. It published a leaflet aimed at trade unionists titled "How Safe Is Your Job?"

It puts forward a three point program on automation, calling for a shorter work week, government and employer subsidization of workers displaced by automation, and planned introduction of automated processes.

It ends by saying, 'It doesn't make sense to vote for one of the employer-backed parties. The NDP is the only party in this election that has the official backing of labor and a program to protect your interests with the growth of automation."

It is not enough for just riding associations to put out leaflets like this. An all-sided campaign to mobilize rank and file trade unionists is the only way to rack up an NDP victory.

Socialists have already shown that they can push the NDP in the direction of publicly making Vietnam an issue. Trade unionists, if they involve themselves in the campaign can even more successfully make this NDP campaign the independent and strong voice of the Canadian working class.

Our 2nd Election Special

With the November issue, which will feature our analysis of the election results, we will return to our regular four-page format.

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WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 6 (114) December, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

Vote for NDP in Quebec Significant Breakthrough

By R. Brock

MONTREAL, November 15 — Although election results in Canada as a whole gave the NDP little to crow about, the party's showing in Quebec on November 8 can be considered a significant breakthrough. The NDP popular vote shot up 60% from the 152,000 registered in 1963 to over 242,000. Its share of the total vote rose from 7.6% to 12%.

Biggest gains were made in Montreal, where the party rolled up close to 20% of the vote, barely 1% behind the Tories, and 16% behind the Liberals who took every seat but one. Although the NDP made its best showing in predominantly English ridings (over 30% of the vote in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce and Mount Royal), the party's vote increased in all but three of the city's 21 seats. In seven it placed second, and in the rest was usually a close third.

These results are particularly significant when compared with those of the other parties. The Tories registered little change, while the Liberals' vote declined in every riding. In fact, when abstentions are taken into account, only 42% of the Montreal electorate voted for the traditional capitalist parties. Support for Réal Caouette's Ralliement des Creditistes dropped drastically by one-half or more everywhere in Montreal. In all but three ridings, the NDP far outdistanced the Creditistes.

LACKS ORGANIZATION

NDP gains in Quebec are all the more remarkable in view of the party's almost total lack of organization. The NDP had only 500 members in the entire province at the beginning of this year. The organized labor movement is not affiliated to it; the Confederation of National Trade Unions is at best neutral, while the Quebec Federation of Labor gave the party mainly verbal support during the campaign. The two prominent newspapers which had endorsed the NDP in 1963 — **La Presse** and **Le Devoir**—opted for the Liberals this time around.

Moreover, the growing unrest and militancy in the Quebec farm and student movements has not oriented toward the NDP; in fact, it has tended to bypass the party, which suffers the stigma of being a federal—hence English—party. In fact, the NDP suffered particularly from the high degree of apathy among French-Canadians regarding federal politics. In Montreal, only 60% of the electors bothered to vote, and in some ridings the percentage was as low as 42%. Where the total vote was relatively high, the NDP tended to do better.

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

The nationalist and separatist movements such as the RIN called for a boycott of the elections, to protest confederation's violation of French Canada's rights. Their policy was emulated by many Quebec socialists who acknowledge at least in words the supremacy of class politics over national differences. The Mouvement de Libération Populaire (Parti Pris) advocated boycott; the Parti Socialiste du Québec contented itself with a statement

(See Page 2 — VOTE FOR)

(Continued from Page 1)

reaffirming its members' constitutional "right" to aid the NDP campaign if they so wished.

Among the revolutionary left, only the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière urged electoral support for the NDP. Although the Quebec NDP is not formally the Quebec labor party, and although the NDP has frequently and scandalously ignored Quebec's particular status as the political expression of the French-Canadian nation, stated the editorial in their October 31 issue of **La Lutte Ouvrière**, the NDP is clearly of all federal parties the only one receptive to the aspirations of Quebec workers and farmers. Rejecting the possible options of absentention and boycott, **La Lutte Ouvrière** pointed out that the major plane of struggle is still against the central government — Ottawa — and that in their fight against that regime, French-Canadian revolutionaries have a potential **and actual** ally in the forces grouped within the NDP, the English-Canadian labor party. Support of the NDP in this election was the only viable alternative to an abdication from responsible revolutionary politics.

Despite a massive propaganda campaign on behalf of Marchand, Pelletier and Trudeau designed to sway primarily the impressionable middle-class vote, the adhesion of these three intellectual "renegades" to the Liberals seemed to have little effect. Marchand barely squeaked through in Quebec West, and the Liberal vote declined drastically in Pelletier's and Trudeau's ridings. The NDP came within 2,000 votes of defeating the latter in Mount Royal.

Significantly, the election results constituted a stunning rebuff to Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche, who has repeatedly rejected closer ties between the NDP and the organized labor movement and stubbornly maintained that "the revolution in Quebec will be based on the farmers and rural dispossessed." The farm vote ignored the NDP. In only three ridings outside the Montreal region did the party roll up a sizeable vote. The NDP and Creditiste vote tended to be inversely related. The NDP has not yet succeeded in winning the protest vote of the farmers and politically backward workers in these areas.

The party's principal electoral support came from French-Canadian industrial workers, who voted for it despite its program and in sharp contrast to the main thrust of its leadership's appeal.

Of significance also was the post-election reaction of the Quebec Federation of Labor. In a press communique, QFL president Louis Laberge admitted that the NDP would have done much better in Quebec if organized labor had been less equivocal in its support. Deploring the adverse effects on political action of the present inter-union rivalry (for which, however, he is partly responsible), Laberge expressed hope that "between now and the next federal elections, all the organized workers of Quebec will pitch in to achieve unity at least on the political plane." For, he declared, it falls to the labor movement to solidly estabish the NDP here, particularly in Montreal.

WORKERS Vanguard

#114 Dec. 1965

WIND UP OF THE CROSS-CANADA CAMPAIGN

By Ernest Tate

Bringing the truth about the war in Vietnam to the Canadian people continued to be the main theme of the return leg of our Trailblazers' Tour from Vancouver. The highlight of our stopover in Vancouver was a large meeting organized for us by the Socialist Club at the University of British Columbia — over 300 students came out to hear the three tour participants speak. While all were not sympathetic to the idea that the U.S. should get out of Vietnam — there was some heckling — nevertheless a considerable number were sufficiently interested in the socialist view-point to hear the speakers out. After the meeting all the panelists were interviewed by the campus paper, the **Ubbyssy**.

The Trailblazers spent two weeks travelling through the interior of B.C. on the return trip and renewed many contacts with NDP leftists and sold subscriptions to the paper. One of our major stops was in Merritt, site of one of the wealthiest mining properties in Canada, Craigmont Mines.

We arrived in town just as the workers hit the bricks for a $1 an hour increase. In a recent certification vote the Steelworkers union had won out against Mine, Mill. The miners had walked out just as soon as the old contract signed by Mine, Mill expired. The old contract was so bad that it caused considerable resentment within the ranks of the B.C. labor movement, including Mine, Mill locals; they had agreed to a six cent increase in a four year contract; one of the lowest rates in mining in the province.

Even though we met some red-baiting — this is an essential part of the Steel campaign — Merritt was one of our best places for sub. sales. The strike played no small part in that.

The next high-point on the return trip was Edmonton where we were given a warm welcome by the friends we've made there over the years. We spoke at four meetings and had several discussions with groups of students on the University of Alberta campus.

The Edmonton NDY organized a discussion around the topic "The Socialist Caucus in the NDP and the New Left." Peter Boothroyd of SUPA, Bernard Bloom, an NDY member, and a Trailblazer, were the speakers.

The following evening we spoke at a special meeting organized for us by the important left-socialist grouping, the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship, an organization made up mainly of NDPers, which came into existence at the time of the founding of the NDP in reaction to the right-wing's domination of the Alberta party. The Fellowship carries on educational activity and last summer it sponsored a very successful seminar at Banff.

We were invited to inform the Fellowship about the League for Socialist Action, its program, how it looks upon the NDP, and how it functions. Ernest Tate spoke for the League relating its development and its long fight against the party bureaucracy. Many of the members expressed their disgust with the present NDP policies and some questioners raised the idea of setting up another party, more to the left than the NDP. The speaker stressed the importance of recognizing the reality — that the most advanced workers look upon the NDP as a labor party — it has their allegiance.

Tate outlined the importance of not writing off the NDP, stressing that all socialists have a responsibility to their ideas to belong to it, and that in the process of the struggle for a socialist program socialists could achieve a common unity.

The following day a group of activists from the campus, mainly NDYers, organized a solidarity demonstration with October 15th International Day of Protest against the war in Vietnam. A number of individuals spoke, a notable one being Bill McLean, a local NDP candidate in the federal election. That evening we showed the Vietnam film to around fifty people at a SUPA gathering.

It is apparent from our experience that the present radicalization sweeping the American campuses has not left the Canadian population untouched. Many students are starting to question the role of the Pearson government in the U.S.'s dirty war.

This impression was reaffirmed again in Saskatoon, on the campus of the University of Saskatchewan. 350 showed up for the showing organized for us by SUPA activists and some members of the NDY — they had only expected about 60. The meeting lasted three hours and ended with a proposal coming from the audience for a teach-out to be held the following week.

Though not as successful in drawing audiences, we had two important meetings in Regina — one on the Regina Campus where we talked on Marxism and its relevance today, and the other to an NDY meeting.

After that we moved quickly to beat the cold, making brief stops at Winnipeg, Sault Ste. Marie, and Sudbury. We concentrated on taking the special issues of the **Vanguard** on the election to some of the major industrial areas in Ontario. We received a warm response. All of us feel inspired by our experiences in crossing Canada — we are hoping that the many friends we met across the country will keep in touch with us.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
62 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN TORONTO
League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN VANCOUVER
League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

WORKERS Vanguard

#114-Dec.1965

It's Time We Took Stock, Says Sask. NDY President

We reproduce the latter half, basically the conclusions, of a lengthy letter by Jim Harding that appeared in the November 17 PRAIRIE NEW DEMOCRAT COMMONWEALTH. Harding is president of the Saskatchewan New Democrat Youth and was an official CCF-NDP candidate in the last provincial elections.

. . . Can we really expect the NDP to play a progressive role in government? We can count on the party supporting social security with vigor, but as I have already stated, that may not be a good thing by itself. Can we trust the NDP members of the house to take strong stands on international affairs? — on foreign (U.S.) domination of our economy? Maybe, but judging from the toning down of these real issues by the NDP in this campaign, I wouldn't count on it.

The fact is the NDP is attracting many liberal, establishment, status-seeking people, and many of these — especially in Ontario are gaining a great influence in the party. I really don't expect some of the wishy-washy people we now have supporting the NDP to take a stand on principle which could jeopardize their position and status?

We keep saying we are a party of principle, but a person's (or organization's) ethics have to be judged from their deeds, not from their words. We have not talked to Canadians about the atrocities in Vietnam, about the threat to democracy and independence in Canada because of foreign control of our economy, about the real dangers of further "Vietnams" in Latin America (which Canada may be involved in through the OAS) — these are our deeds. While Douglas did take a courageous stand on Vietnam in parliament, it seems that the "ad-man," and those in the party who want to tone everything down into ambiguity, have convinced him to say little in the election about these real issues.

I think it is time more people became skeptical of these trends in the NDP. We prize ourself because we have a democratic convention system, and yet the way the campaign was run was greatly determined by ad-men; pros who probably do not belong to or support the party. The fact is our campaigns are shaping our party, and the average member has little say in this process.

Because I feel the party is drifting away from ethical, progressive approaches (it is unlikely that the NDP will ever nurture a man again of the integrity of J. S. Woodsworth); and in fact may be reinforcing reactionary trends of a manipulatory society which I can only see as dangerous, I may very well soon have to reconsider my membership in the party. I would rather see the party return to an ethical base, to a radical set of policies and devote the greatest amount of my energy to this task, but a time comes for all of us when we find that we must draw the line because of conscience. Bertrand Russell just tore up his Labor Party card because that party has sided with the reactionary role of the U.S. abroad and has adopted semi-racist immigration White Paper. The NDP is by no means lost as a people's movement (as is the Labour Party in Britain I fear), but unless a lot of us take stock, draw the line where it must be drawn, we may find this to be the case in the near future.

WORKERS Vanguard #114 Dec. 1965

Ovation for Ambassador at Cuba Fair Play Supper

TORONTO—This year's annual banquet of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was held on the evening of Nov. 20. The gathering of almost 200 persons heard addresses by Vernel Olson, the national chairman of the committee, and Dr. Americo Cruz, the Cuban Ambassador to Canada, and viewed a Cuban film, Cyclon, a moving documentary on the hurricane which caused such damage there two years ago.

Mr. Olson introduced the head table which included the Ottawa Embassy staff, the Toronto consul, and their families, Mr. and Mrs. Olson, Pam Dineen, chairman of the U of T Student Committee on Cuban Affairs, and Dr. and Mrs. Cruz. Greetings were received from the Vancouver chapter of the FPCC and from Paul Sweezey, editor of the American socialist **Monthly Review.**

Highlighting the evening was the speech by Dr. Cruz. After a few introductory remarks in English the Ambassador made a short address in Spanish to Portugese, Spaniards, and South Americans who were well represented in the audience. In the course of his extended address in English the Ambassador expressed a warm personal appreciation of Vernel Olson who launched the committee, thanked the committee for its efforts to establish the truth about the Cuban revolution in Canada, and pledged himself to help the committee in every possible way in the coming years that he expected to be here.

When the Ambassador closed his address the audience gave him a standing ovation to shouts of Long Live the First Workers' State in the Americas, Vinceremos, etc.

The participants closed the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Cuban revolution after eating a fine meal catered by friends and supporters of the committee, by dancing to the music provided by the Jim Mitchell Quartet.

Workers Vanguard #114 Dec. 1965

BOOKSHELF

THE VERTICAL MOSAIC, by JOHN PORTER. University of Toronto Press. Obtainable through the Vanguard Bookstore, 824 Yonge Street, Toronto, and 1208 Granville, Vancouver; $15.00.

John Porter's heavily-documented book **Vertical Mosaic** is not only a damning indictment of present day Canadian capitalist society but demolishes many of the most cherished notions about this society.

The author denies the actual existence of a ruling class, preferring to break up this society into "elites" more or less equal (economic, labor, political, etc.) But it is apparent that the so-called economic "elite" with its concentrated wealth, combined with undue influence over other "elites," does indeed constitute a ruling class — a capitalist class.

Many people are convinced that middle-class affluence is prevalent in our society. Such is not the case. If by Porter's own definition the middle class includes those who earn between $8,000 and $50,000 per annum, only a little over one-tenth of Canadian families, according to the latest available statistics, fall within this category. Contrasted to this over two-fifths of families in Canada receive less than $4,000, which is only one thousand dollars above the accepted poverty level.

These facts hardly testify to "middle-class" prevalence!

Porter makes short shrift of the "equality of opportunity" myth. Utilizing statistics which unveil the background from which university students come, he reveals the appalling underrepresentation of these from the lower income groups and the reverse conditions for those in the higher income groups. Through painstaking research — records concerning the corporate rich are not easy to reach — he illustrates how the economic elite, numbering only 760 Canadian residents, live in a more or less closed circuit. The vast majority in this century either inherited their wealth or came from upper class families intimately associated with the top circles. Horatio Algers are a dying species in this age of corporate opulence!

A notion that Jews are influential in corporate circles is exposed as nonsense. Until recently, when two Jews were placed amongst the directors of chartered banks, no Jews held directorships in the big financial and corporate institutions.

The number of French Canadians among the corporate rich is also tiny. Only 51 of the 760 in this class are of such origin, although French Canadians constitute about one-third of the population.

Most of the top crust is very much Anglo-Saxon as well as Protestant.

A belief that Canadians would benefit by a removal of foreign ownership is refuted as he cites the international nature of capitalism.

Porter devotes two chapters to describing the labor movement in Canada. They make informative reading as he recounts its structure, history and problems, as well as the relationship between the labor "elite" and political groups, in particular the NDP.

How does Porter treat Marxist sociology? Surprisingly, quite superficially. In a few pages he dismisses it mainly as a 19th century relic, irrelevant to present problems in Canada. He fails to grasp that Maxism is a science based on dialectical materialism and that Marx proved that human societies were subject to its laws, developing accordingly. True, Marx did "err" on particular points; but the science of Marxism itself is as applicable today as in the 19th century. Marx is to sociology as Newton is to physics.

Certainly it is ironic to read his comments on the waning class struggle when strikes both union-inspired and otherwise are sweeping the country.

Other weaknesses in the book stem from a tendency to be repetitious and somewhat tedious in part. Also it lacks the fire that typified similar works by C. Wright Mills, and of course Karl Marx in his time.

But by and large, the book is recommended reading for workers and students with its information on all aspects of Canadian society. To NDPers it underscores the need for fundamental transformation of the system, and renders picayune and ineffectual the reformism advocated by the present leadership. **K. P.**

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WORKERS Vanguard

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Trusteeship Snags Toronto Teamster Fight for New Leadership & Contract

Some 500 teamsters appeared over the workday of January 2 at Local 938 headquarters in downtown Toronto to protest the Hoffa leadership's imposition of a trusteeship over their union.

The trustee, required by the Ontario Labor Relations Act to hold the hearing, heard briefs, many statements, and received a petition signed by almost 1,000 teamsters demanding that the trusteeship be ended and new elections for an executive be held.

The trusteeship was clamped on the local December 10, the day before a regular membership meeting which was certain to see further actions by the ranks to rid themselves of the McDougall leadership.

The membership had earlier angrily repudiated a memorandum of agreement with the companies presented by McDougall as head of the contract negotiations committee. At the following meeting they passed a motion of non-confidence in McDougall, deprived him of power to fire business agents, and added three opposition spokesmen to the negotiating committee: business agent Charles Thibault, secretary-treasurer Lloyd Merritt, and Fred Aldred, who McDougall had allowed to be fired for his leadership of a wildcat in opposition to the memorandum of agreement.

Trusteeship is not a new experience for Local 938. Following a two-year trusteeship, with Duke Thompson as the Hoffa appointee, McDougall once again slid into office. Ontario Federation of Labor President David Archer commended the Teamsters' Washington office for imposing this trusteeship—he told the press "it would have been lax in its duty if it hadn't . . ." A few days earlier, as a last official act, the McDougall gang suspended Thibault from his job as business agent. First act of the trustee, following cancellation of the regular membership meeting, was the suspension of the executive, including Merritt, but the immediate rehiring of the rest as temporary business agents. McDougall was appointed business manager.

This arrogant suspension of all democratic procedure comes at a particularly dangerous time for the union, and at a good time for the bosses. On Christmas eve the government conciliation board report on the long dragged-out negotiations for a new contract was handed down. Along with their demand that the present 48-hour week be replaced by 40 hours without loss in take-home pay, the ranks consider the penalties imposed on eight militants and damage actions against the Hamilton local, to have top priority.

But the board recommendation is nothing other than a warmed-over version of the old memorandum that McDougall had agreed to. The judge took the position that the company reprisals were outside the board's jurisdiction.

The joint negotiating committee of the five Ontario locals, still presided over by McDougall, has denounced the recommendations and is talking strike. A vote is to be taken over January 9 and 16. But as to be expected nothing is being done in the key Toronto area to prepare for a favorable strike vote. McDougall and his gang's real position on the recommendation is known. They have nothing to gain and everything to lose from militant involvement of the ranks in any union affairs, let alone strike preparations. The new one-man head of Local 938 only recently settled in Quebec for a 48-hour week.

The last month has seen the Merritt-Thibeau forces move out more independently. It would seem crucial that the next few weeks see them move out much more boldly, completely free of any illusions about the trusteeship, presenting themselves as the leadership, not just in words but in deeds—or the demonstrated will of the ranks to struggle will subside.